THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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Sworn Affidavit By Former Agent Provocateur

"KILLERS OF BUNCHY CARTER AND JOHN HUGGINS WORKED FOR F.B.I."

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A Black former agent provocateur employed by the FBI to infiltrate and spy upon the activities of the Black Panther Party has said in a sworn affidavit that the assassin of Southern California BPP leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Jerome Huggins on January 17, 1969, was "an agent in the service of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Los Angeles office."

In the affidavit, Darthard Perry, a self-confessed FBI "intelligence gatherer," charges that he saw the agent-in-charge of the "Black radicals" desk for the FBI in Los Angeles drive the getaway car for the three men who participated in the slaying.

"I recognized George Stiner, Larry Stiner and Claude Hubert from seeing them prior to this date [January 17] on the 14th floor of the Federal Bureau of Investigation building on several occasions," Perry says in the affidavit, "in the company of Brandon Cleary, the man I had seen driving them away from the Campbell Hall area" [the UCLA cafeteria where the murders took place].

Perry, the subject of an April, 1977, expose in *Mother Jones* magazine entitled "Meet America's Meanest Dirty Trickster," identifies the Stiner brothers as "intelligence gatherers" for the FBI, and Hubert, the triggerman whom





Fallen Comrades ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER and JOHN JEROME HUGGINS.

he says "executed" Bunchy and John, as an FBI "agent." All three were known members of the Ron Karenga-led US organization on January 17, 1969.

In 1971, George and Larry Stiner were convicted for the murders of Bunchy and John. (Hubert was never brought to trial). In 1975,

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Oakland's "La Peralta" Apartments

RENT STRIKE HITS INDECENT HOUSING

(Oakland, Calif.) - Angered by the continuing substandard living conditions of their downtown apartment building, the predominantly Black tenants of the "La Peralta" agreed last week to initiate a rent strike on December 19.

Located at 184-13th Street, La Peralta was recently cited by the city of Oakland's Building Inspection department for numerous deficiencies that the owner, millionaire real estate operator William E. Nickerson, has been ordered to repair. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

In addition, the Housing Conservation Division inspected the building and found "roach infestation throughout the structure."

Organized by Kermit Rooney, former assistant manager of La Peralta, the tenants held a highly successful meeting on Thursday, December 8, with over 40 of the six-story



Tenants in La Peralta apartment building are fighting against high rent and substandard conditions.

building's 90 residents participating.

At that time, the tenants agreed to draw up a list of grievances that they demanded Nickerson act upon in five days or a rent strike would be started.

The 10 volunteer members of the tenants' committee met on December 13. Rooney said that when he presented the list of grievances to Nickerson — who is author of the book *How I Turned $1,000 Into A Million In Real Estate In My Spare Time* — the wealthy businessman replied, "There's nothing to talk about. If the rent is not paid, I'm going to evict people."

Among the deficiencies in the La Peralta, many of them dangerous, are loose and exposed wiring in the east and west side garbage rooms; and a defective sink and wall, improperly installed wiring and an improperly installed water closet — the latter all in apartment 206 alone.

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EDITORIAL

FIGHT S. 1437

Like the cheap sequel to a bad horror movie, S.1437, the proposed new federal crime code — better known as the "bastard son of S.B.1" — has arisen from the defeated ashes of its predecessor to threaten the good people of this country.

If COINTELPRO is an abbreviation for "counterintelligence programs," likewise, S.1437 is a shortened form of saying "repression," or better still "police state," since that is exactly what America will become if this proposed legislation passes the Congressional vote. S.1437, in fact, culminates the systematic attack on the long-cherished, Constitutionally-guaranteed, "right to dissent" which COINTELPRO initiated back in 1956. If S.1437 passes, there will be no "right to dissent," there will be no protest. It will, as particularly prison inmate letter writers have long acknowledged, indelibly scar this country with the forbidden brand of the triple K — Amerikkka. Big Brother will be watching! (See page 10.)

Too harsh you say? Would "popular" Teddy Kennedy, one of the co-sponsors of S.1437, really treat us this way? Well, think of it this way: before he died two weeks ago, S.1437's other chief co-sponsor was John McClellan of Arkansas, an arch conservative Southerner who, if he didn't invent the right-wing Un-American Activities Committee himself, certainly stood by the right hand of the Father, (late FBI czar J. Edgar Hoover), when the infamous witchhunt group was conceived.

As early as March, 1975 and throughout 1976, the Black Panther Party took a vanguard position in mobilizing public support against Senate Bill 1. It is now incumbent for all concerned citizens to just as staunchly oppose S.1437.

If you fall within any of the following categories: working class; unemployed or underemployed; Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American or any other ethnic minority group; student; youth; woman; or just generally not of the capitalist class, S.1437 is a direct threat to your life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. If you don't, or if fascism makes you tingle, S.1437 is right up your alley, right there, lurking in the shadows, carrying a big stick.

Statement By The Black Panther Party

December 10, 1977

The Black Panther Party today condemns the vicious allegations circulated by local law enforcement agencies, and undoubtedly federal police agencies, as a malicious and hysterical attempt to once and for all carry out the FBI's already stated goal to "disrupt, discredit and destroy" our people's organization and sever the model programs serving the community here in Oakland and elsewhere in the nation.

Is is no secret anymore that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), along with a myriad of other federal, state and local law enforcement agencies, including the Oakland Police Department and particularly its Vice Squad unit, have long conspired to crush the Black Panther Party and discredit its leadership. Our Founder and President, Huey P. Newton, has always been the Number 1 target of these attacks. Such facts are easy to document. The Church Senate Select Committee investigating domestic intelligence abuses established last year that 233 of 295 FBI operations under the infamous COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) plan were directed against the Black Panther Party. Spectacular stories of murder and mayhem have played an essential role in the "dirty tricks" against us. And, as continuing revelations reveal, only the "tip of the iceberg" is known.

First the government said COINTELPRO ended in 1971. Then they were forced to admit another spy program to infiltrate and disrupt ended in 1974. Later still, former Attorney General Edward Levi admitted in a sworn declaration that he ended a "domestic security" investigation of the Black Panther Party in late 1976. What do they call their program against the Black Panther Party now?

In 1974, when Bobby Seale left our organization, a police attempt to destroy us took the form of several headline-making frame-up charges lodged against the leader of the Party, Huey P. Newton. As the web of lies thickened, and as evidence of a $10,000 death threat surfaced, Huey was forced into political exile. A then relative unknown from within our ranks, Elaine Brown, was chosen by our Central Committee to take over the reigns of the Party in Huey's absence. The Party, and our People's Programs, over 50 in all, continued to grow and flourish.

In 1977, the political climate somewhat changed, Huey returned. Elaine Brown, tired from the weight of her efforts, then chose to leave, knowing our Party was again in good hands.

But the FBI and police plot has not stopped and as is obvious to all, the attempt is being made to exploit the departure of a leading Party member, as they tried to do in 1974, as part of the propaganda war against us.

Divide and conquer is a familiar ploy. Certainly that is what the FBI and the police are doing now. The names of Black Panther Party members and former Black Panther Party members, friends and ex-colleagues are being cast about in the media in a wild and woolly scenario so bizarre as to defy description. Insinuations and false, vicious rumors abound — and given front page attention. What comes next? Ask the FBI, whose involvement in the recent series of events has been strangely unpublicized. After 11 years of intense attacks and harassments, who among us is so naive as to believe the federal police are not involved in what is happening now.

Through it all, however, the Black Panther Party remains firm and strong. Our Survival Programs continue to serve the neglected needs of the community; our political organ, THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper, continues to publish weekly. There is still a waiting list for those who wish for their children to attend our model School in East Oakland, and so receive a decent and proper education.

Again, the Black Panther Party condemns and categorically denies the malicious charges leveled against us in the FBI and police terror campaign, and remain committed to a policy of progressive social change for poor and oppressed people.

COMMENT

Kentridge Summation At Steve Biko Inquest

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER reprints excerpts from the closing argument of Sydney Kentridge, chief counsel for the family of slain Black activist Steve Biko, presented at the controversial inquest into his murder by South African police authorities. Kentridge is considered one of the leading attorneys in South Africa.

The undisputed facts concerning the treatment of Mr. Biko.

Biko was detained on the 18th August, 1977, whilst in good health. He died 26 days later. What the security police themselves admit they subjected him to during this period is more than a matter of comment. The admitted assaults on his dignity under the direction of Colonel [Pieter J.] Goosen [chief of the Port Elizabeth unit of the security police] are evidence of a callous disregard for his legal and human rights and are highly relevant in assessing the evidence of those who abused him:

(A) He was left in solitary confinement from August 19 to September 6. Whilst at Walmer police station before his interrogation he was deprived even of the negligible rights he had as a Section 6 detainee [Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.].

His clothes were removed and he was left naked in his cell, he was not taken out for the minimum period of exercise in the open air, he was not allowed to purchase any food, he was not allowed proper washing facilities. His complaints to the magistrate on the 2nd September were a dead letter. The complaints did not even come to the notice of those against whom they were made.

(B) He was brought to the interrogation room on the morning of September 6, 1977. At night he was handcuffed and shackled by leg irons placed on his feet which in turn were locked on to walls. This was the position that he was expected to sleep in.

(C) He remained so shackled even after Colonel Goosen, according to his own evidence,

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F.B.I. DOCUMENTS REVEAL MORE ANTI-B.P.P. TACTICS

"The purpose of counterintelligence action is to disrupt the Black Panther Party and it is immaterial whether facts are present..."

(Washington, D.C.) - So wrote the Washington, D.C., FBI headquarters to its San Francisco office in 1970 — and in its ominous way, setting the tone and stating already-established guidelines for illegal FBI activities against the Black Panther Party.

This memo is just one of several hundred related to FBI crimes against the Black Panther Party recently released as part of over 52,000 pages of COINTELPRO documents handed over to the news media under the Freedom of Information Act. Another 16,000 pages on the FBI's 1956 to 1971 counterintelligence program are still suppressed.

The memo quoted above continues:

"If facts are present it aids in the success of the proposal, but the Bureau feels that the skimming of money is such a sensational issue that disruption can be accomplished without the facts to back it up."

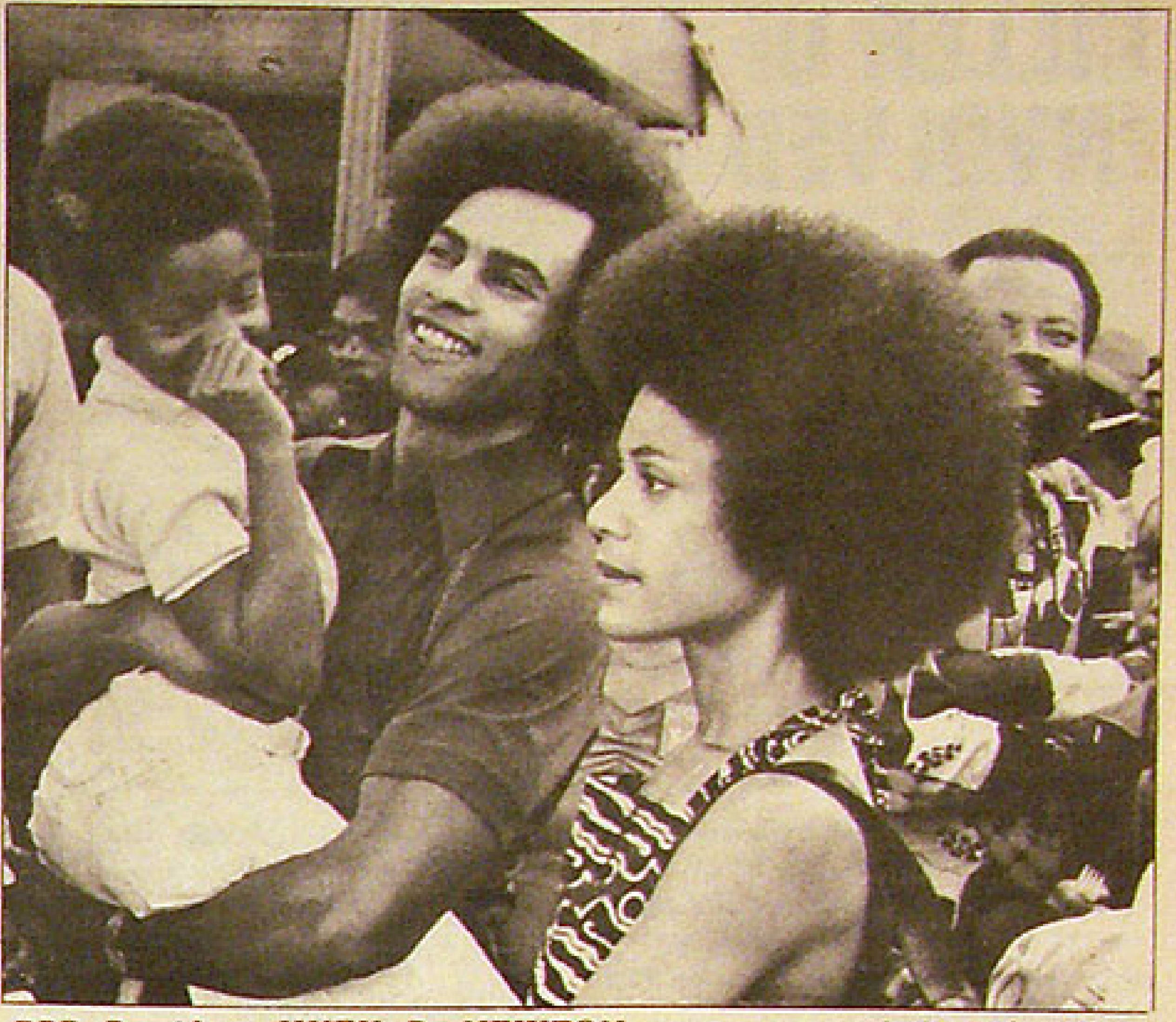
The "skimming of money" referred to in the memo related to a suggestion from the Detroit FBI office that "anonymous" information be "leaked" that then BPP leader David Hilliard was stealing money out of the Party's treasury, John Fogarty reports in the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

The San Francisco FBI office at the time objected to the proposal, telling Washington that there was no record of Hilliard stealing from the Party. FBI headquarters told S.F. to execute the plan anyway.

Fogarty reports that the memo's indicate that the S.F. office was under constant pressure to come up "with positive results" from its anti-Black Panther Party campaign.

The files show the FBI employed — or considered — sexual innuendo, fake letters expelling Party members, counterfeit versions of BPP publications and literature and the "setting up" of BPP members to make them appear to be police informants — all as part of a campaign of psychological warfare against the Panthers.

The files make clear the FBI believed the BPP to be a threat to the safety of White citizens, police officers and the nation's security.



BPP President HUEY P. NEWTON, a constant victim of police repression, with his wife GWEN.

"The extremist Black Panther Party of Oakland...is the most violence prone organization of all the extremist groups operating in the United States," George C. Moore, section chief of the Intelligence Division in Washington, wrote to assistant FBI Director William Sullivan on September 27, 1968.

Three days later, then FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover ordered FBI offices in San Francisco and 20 other cities to come up with shemes to disrupt the BPP.

For example, records show the FBI learned the BPP believed one of its members who had been arrested after a gun battle at a San Francisco gas station might have been a police informant, and the San Francisco office took steps to foster these suspicions.

In a report to Washington dated December 2, 1968, the San Francisco agents reported they had arranged through San Francisco police *to give the prisoner special privileges and show him* "extra courtesy in front of other prisoners."

The FBI also forged a letter to national BPP headquarters from the BPP chapter in Omaha,

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"THE ESTABLISHMENT HAS NOT BEGUN TO FIGHT THE THREAT"

San Francisco F.B.I. Turned Fanatic In Late '60's

(Washington, D.C.) - The San Francisco office of the FBI was convinced in the late 1960's that the nation stood on the threshold of revolution, and was a source of advice to its supervisors in Washington, D.C., on how the threat should be countered.

The San Francisco office bombarded former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and FBI headquarters with dozens of memos suggesting ways of dealing with the problems posed by the New Left, recounted its own successes and failures, and offered pep talks on what was at stake, John Fogarty reports for the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

The material is part of close to 53,000 pages of internal FBI documents about the Bureau's COINTELPRO program made public in connection with Freedom of Information Act suits filed against the Bureau by newsgathering agencies.

The special agent in charge of the San Francisco office for most



Demonstrator bleeds profusely after being beat by a San Francisco cop.

of the period was Charles W. Bates, who said he had no recollection of the events covered in the memorandum.

Nonetheless, many of the documents made public had Bates' handwritten initials on them, suggesting at least that he read them before they were sent to the headquarters of the FBI in Washington.

The San Francisco FBI office's analysis of the ripeness of American society for revolution was discussed in a memo dated January 27, 1969, which carried Bates' initials:

"The Bureau is now engaged in combating the revolutionary activities of the New Left, anarchists and the like who are constantly attacking the status quo, the Establishment, or whatever name is given to the organized, lawful society which the Bureau represents.

"As of now, the Bureau (FBI) and law enforcement agencies of the country have been bearing the brunt of this New Left attack. The welfare and stability of the United States demands that the government, law enforcement and society as a whole be more widely supported by other units of 'The Establishment.'

"As of now, 'The Establishment' has not begun to use the weapons at its disposal to fight the threat of the revolutionary," the memo said.

"Our principal problem is in developing activities and disseminating information which will turn around the thinking and the nonthinking of influential elements of society so these elements will be aware that revolution can happen here and indeed is ready to happen," it said.

The memo complained that "the courts continue to mete out apologetic sentences" to leftists rather than sending them away "for material lengths of time."

It said, "The news media continues to publicize militant, distorted and inaccurate mouthings and lies of Blacks and of the New Left. These news media

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KILLER OF MALCOLM X NAMES 4 OTHERS INVOLVED IN 1965 SLAYING



The late MALCOLM X

(New York, N.Y.) - One of three men convicted for the murder of Malcolm X last week filed a statement claiming that the two men imprisoned with him are innocent, and named four other men whom he said actually took part in the killing of the militant Black activist 13 years ago.

The statement was recently filed in the New York Supreme Court by Thomas Hagan through his lawyer, William Kunstler, on behalf of the two men, Norman (3X) Butler and Thomas (15X) Johnson. Kunstler filed a motion to set aside the convictions of Butler and Johnson on the grounds of this newly discovered evidence, reports the *New York Times*.

In the court papers, Hagan declared that Butler and Johnson were innocent of the murder of Malcolm X and named four other men, who he vaguely described as "Brother Lee," "Brother Been," "Willie X" and "Wilbour."

According to Hagan, the assassination plot against Malcolm X was hatched in Paterson, New Jersey, after Malcolm was "*declared a 'hypocrite' by the Nation of Islam.*"

Malcolm X had been the chief spokesperson for the then Nation of Islam (now World Community of Islam in the West) and had been its greatest organizer before he left the Black nationalist organization in 1964 due to political and personal differences with the leader and founder of the Nation, the late Elijah Muhammad.

Malcolm X (born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1920,) was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing a meeting of his newly-formed group, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, in Harlem's Audubon Ballroom. Hagan was captured and beaten by Malcolm followers immediately after the shooting, while Butler and Johnson were arrested later and charged with the murder.

Despite Hagan's *insistence* that Johnson and Butler were innocent, all three of the men were convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1966. According to the *Times*, the police originally believed that five men were involved in the cowardly murder.

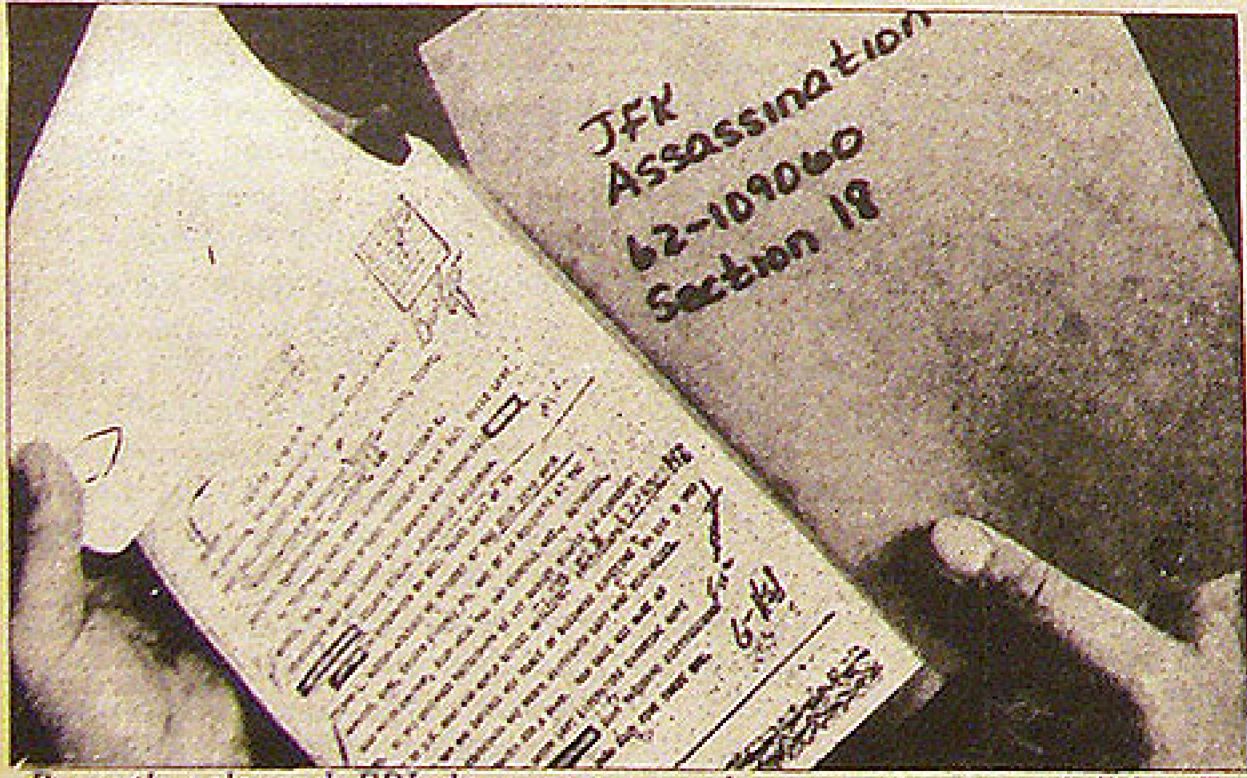
Kunstler said that Hagan refused to name his confederates at the time of the trial but after many meetings with the chaplain at the Napanoch Correctional Facility (where he is currently being held) he decided to provide details of the killing and the identity of his true co-conspirators. A hearing on the matter is now scheduled for December 21.

One aspect of Malcolm's murder remains to be resolved despite this new revelation, if it is true — what role did federal and local authorities play in the assassination scenario?

Photographs taken right after the shooting of Malcolm show his bodyguard, Gene Roberts — a notorious Black New York City undercover cop — giving the Black leader mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, effectively cutting off oxygen to his badly wounded lungs.

Hoover's Zeal To Defend F.B.I. Detailed In Kennedy Assassination Memos

(Washington, D.C.) - Emerging from the 40,001 pages of previously-suppressed FBI documents released last week comes a portrait of late Bureau czar J. Edgar Hoover as an overzealous bureaucrat more interested in defending his federal police agency than in solving the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.



Recently-released FBI documents on the assassination of John F. Kennedy.

This first batch of documents — with another 40,000 pages due to be released in February — offers precious little new evidence either for conspiracy buffs or for those convinced that Lee Harvey Oswald was the "lone nut" who assassinated President Kennedy on November 22, 1963.

Indeed, as the documents indicate, the only hint of a controversy, one surrounding the fatal bullets, was quickly covered up.

According to the FBI documents, doctors performing the autopsy on the slain 36th President of the United States were initially puzzled because they found no bullets in Kennedy's body, nor evidence of an exit wound.

"Inasmuch as no complete

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This Week In Black History

December 12-15, 1961

More than 700 civil rights demonstrators, including the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., were arrested in Albany, Georgia, as a result of five mass marches on City Hall to protest segregation and discrimination between December 12-15, 1961. The arrests triggered the founding of the militant Albany Movement which continued to stage anti-segregation demonstrations in 1962.



Fred Hampton's blood-stained bed after December 1969 police raid.

December 12, 1969

On December 12, 1969, the Justice Department announced that it instructed its Civil Rights Division to conduct a preliminary investigation into the December 4, 1969, slaying of Illinois Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. A department spokesman claimed the investigation would seek to determine whether Chicago police had committed a federal crime or violated civil rights laws. On December 15, 1969, former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg and NAACP leader Roy Wilkins announced that 25 private citizens representing civil rights, law, politics, and business had joined them in sponsoring a "searching inquiry" into recent violent attacks upon the Black Panther Party by police and agencies across the country.

December 11, 1970

A U.S. judge discharged a federal grand jury on December 11, 1970, in Jackson, Mississipi, after it failed to return any indictments in the shooting deaths of Black students by Mississippi lawmen on the campus of Jackson State College, May 14. The absence of any indictments apparently ended the possibility that any of the 40 state highway patrolmen or 26 Jackson city policemen involved in the shooting would be prosecuted.

PARENTS ADVISORY BOARD

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL-A MODEL IN ACTION

In Part 3 of the ongoing BLACK PANTHER series on the model elementary Oakland Community School (OCS) we examine the Parents Advisory Board and the important role parents play in making the OCS the innovative educational institution that it is.

(Oakland, Calif.) - Seven years ago, a group of parents concerned with the inadequate education their childen were receiving in the public schools of this city joined with the Black Panther Party in founding the Oakland Community School. Throughout the history of the East Oakland-based school, active parental participation has helped to sustain and expand the educational programs of the OCS.

Led by the Parents Advisory Board, parents of OCS children are involved in nearly every facet of the school, including curriculum, classroom work, health care, and fundraising.

The Parents Advisory Board holds regular monthly meetings to plan fundraising activities and discuss ways in which parents can help the staff of the school meet the educational needs of the children. Because the OCS is not a public school, the responsibility of securing the $22,000 needed to run the school each month falls on the shoulders of parents and staff.



OCS Director ERICKA HUGGINS addressing recent well-attended parents' meeting, held regularly to inform parents of their children's progress and to involve them in the school's activities.



BPINS photos

The Board sponsors such activities as bake sales and parties to raise money for the school. Not only have such events gained needed funds, but they have helped to publicize the school in the community.

In addition, parents are active in the monthly OCS Donation Drive in which two prized of $100 and $50 are awarded each week to people who purchase $2 Donation Drive tickets. Parents help to circulate the tickets throughout the Bay Area. The Donation Drive has received tremendous support from the community, which continuously demonstrates its belief that the OCS is providing quality education to the 160 predominantly Black and poor children who attend the school.

Parents are also asked to make a small monthly contribution to the education of their children. While this contribution is not mandatory, the majority of parents gladly contribute. The Parents Advisory Board assists the administrators of the OCS in securing these monthly contributions.

In the area of classroom work, the staff works closely with parents. Each month, parents' meetings are held during which the staff discusses with parents the individual academic progress of their children.

The importance of the children's language, mathematics and science homework is stressed at the meetings. Parents are encouraged to help their children do the homework to insure that the skills taught in the classroom are properly reinforced.

AID THE STAFF

On Wednesdays, parents aid the OCS staff by supervising the children while the staff meets to discuss the school's curriculum and problems that individual children may be having. This is a particularly important function carried out by parents because it gives them an opportunity to observe the children in class and to see firsthand the kind of work they are doing.

The Parents Advisory Board has initiated a plan whereby parents agree to contribute a certain number of hours each month to the school.

In addition to the activities already discussed, parents meet their commitments by helping administer the school's comprehensive health screening, assisting in the monthly performances

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Teen Fashion Show At O.C.L.C.

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Oakland Community Learning Center's Teen Club presented a very stylish fashion show at it's weekly program here last Sunday "The Fashioneers," a modeling troupe within the Teen Club, modeled their own stunning outfits before a receptive audience.

BPINS photos

"KILLERS OF BUNCHY AND JOHN WORKED FOR F.B.I."

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however, both "escaped" from San Quentin Prison during a family visit. Neither has been heard from since.

Perry's affidavit states:

"I, Darthard Perry, also known as Ed Riggs, also known as Bill Perry, also known as No. RA149581666, being first duly sworn, say:

"I was a resident of Los Angeles, California, during the years 1968 through 1975, and became an intelligence gatherer for the Federal Bureau of Investigation some time during the fall of 1968. As an intelligence gatherer, I was to inform on and observe the activities of the Black Panther Party as it operated in the Los Angeles area during all of 1968 and through to the end of 1969...

"I worked with Brandon Cleary who was in charge of Black radicals for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I am informed and believe that Cleary was the superior to Will Heaton and Michael Quinn, named below. To my knowledge, Cleary is still active in that capacity with the FBI in Los Angeles.

"I also worked with Will Heaton, a special agent for the *Federal Bureau of Investigation*. To my knowledge, Heaton is no longer with the Bureau in Los Angeles, but is employed by the Bureau in an area near Los Angeles, possibly Van Nuys.

"I also worked with Michael Quinn, a special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. To my knowledge, Quinn is still a special agent in Los Angeles.

I was paid on a bi-monthly basis from some time in 1968 to 1975 in cash by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its agents. I was paid approximately $100 every two weks for the information I would gather regarding the Black Panther Party Customarily, I would telephone Cleary, using the name 'Othello,' and would arrange to meet in an arbitrary location, a restaurant, bar, street corner, etc.

"Very often my work involved the Los Angeles Police Department, specifically, the Criminal Conspiracy Section...

"I met with the above named employees of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on the street, in automobiles, and at the Wilshire Boulevard office (known as the V.A.Center in Westwood) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on the 14th floor, during this period of time, and spoke with them on the telephone.

"On or about the 17th of January, 1969, I was told to go to the University of California campus at Los Angeles and observe the activities in the cafeteria at Campbell Hall. This order was given to me in person by Brandon Cleary at the above mentioned FBI office. Will Heaton was also present.

"I arrived there in the late morning and observed many members of the Black Panther Party and the US organization present in the room as well as other people not identified with either organization.

"I observed the situation in the cafeteria which seemed to be nothing more than a meeting and left for a short time to go to a parking lot located near the building. The parking lot is reached by proceeding down a pathway, across a street and then to the parking lot.

"Shortly after my arrival in the parking lot I heard shots from the direction of Campbell Hall.

"Within a few minutes I observed George Stiner, Larry Stiner, and Claude Hubert (also known as 'Chuchessa') jump into a 1967 or 1968 light tan or white, four-door Chevrolet driven by Brandon Cleary of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I saw this car drive away from the parking lot of Campbell Hall.

"I left the campus on foot and immediately went to FBI headquarters by bus. I inquired as to the whereabouts of Brandon Cleary at this time, and, was told he was not available. I am informed and believe that the four-door Chevrolet described above was the property of a man called 'Jomo,' a known member of the US organization, now deceased.

"I recognized George Stiner, Larry Stiner, and Claude Hubert from seeing them prior to this date on the 14th floor of the Federal Bureau of Investigation building on several occasions in the company of Brandon Cleary, the man I had seen drive them away from the Campbell Hall area.







1968 rally in Los Angeles attended by (left to right) RON KARENGA, Fallen Comrade BUNCHY CARTER, STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN. Bunchy and Fallen Comrade JOHN HUGGINS (right) were victims of an FBI murder plot.

"I had been told to give a report within twenty-four hours of the incident to my supervising agent, Will Heaton, on the 14th floor of the Wilshire Blvd. Federal Bureau of Investigation building.

SUPERVISING AGENT

"A few hours later, I went to the building and met with my supervising agent, Will Heaton. While in his company, I observed George Stiner, Larry Stiner and Claude Hubert in the company of Brandon Cleary on the 14th floor of the Federal Bureau of Investigation building.

"I asked Cleary, 'what was happening' and was told that there had been 'a fuck up — no one was to be killed by 'our' people.'

"I also learned that it was Claude Hubert who fired the shot that killed John Jerome Huggins and the same Claude Hubert who fired the shot that killed Alprentice 'Bunchy' Carter and not George or Larry Stiner.

"Through information and belief, I have knowledge that George Stiner and Larry Stiner were intelligence gatherers for the Federal Bureau of Investigation and were working for Brandon Cleary and others when John Jerome Huggins and Alprentice 'Bunchy' Carter were murdered. I am informed and believe that Claude Hubert was on January 17, 1969, at the time he reportedly executed John Jerome Huggins and Alprentice 'Bunchy' Carter, an agent in the service of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Los Angeles office. I am further informed that this same Claude Hubert was subsequently transferred to an east coast office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, specifically New York, New York."

AFFIDAVIT

Both Perry's affidavit plus an accompanying statement from Charles Garry, the noted long-time BPP counsel, were incorporated this past May as part of the BPP's $100 million lawsuit against the FBI, CIA and IRS.

In his statement Garry explains:

"On May 2, 1977, Darthard Perry was to come to my office and execute [sign] the affidavit. He called me collect from Sacramento, California, and stated that Federal Bureau of Investigation agents [were] on his trail and he was concerned for his own safety. He told me he would call me at various points along his route to San Francisco, California. He did not arrive at my office on that day and I have not heard from him since then...."

CALL FOR JOBS BILL RECOGNIZING "SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF MINORITIES"

CITIES' CONVENTION CONDEMNS CARTER'S "NEGLECT"

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The National League of Cities convention concluded here last week with city officials charging that President Carter has fallen far short of his campaign pledge to help the nation's distressed cities and declared that a comprehensive "full employment bill which recognizes the...special problems of minorities" should be the country's No. 1 priority.

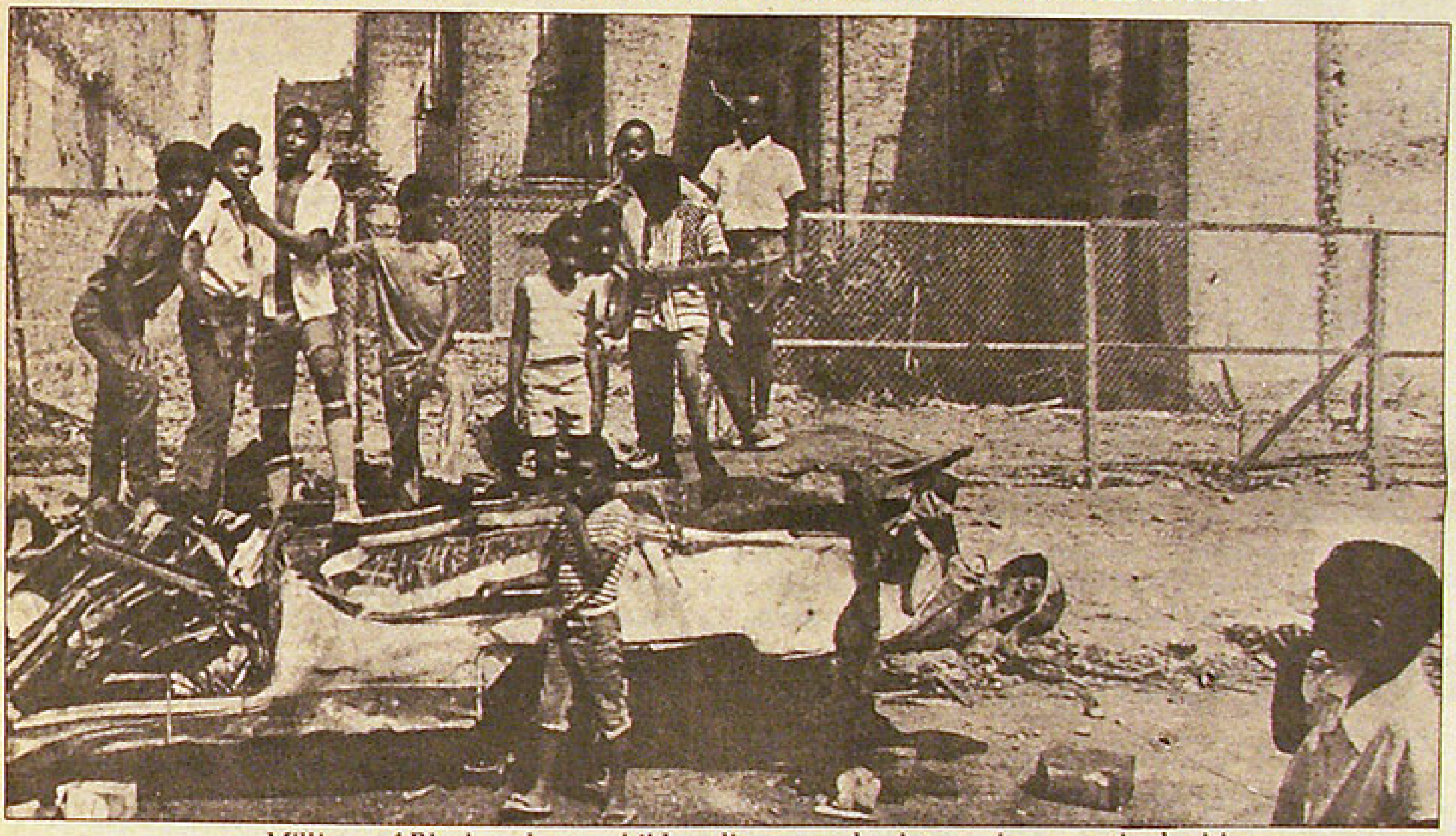
The call for full employment and the condemnation of Carter's "indifference" and "neglect" toward the plight of the cities was led by Black political leaders who convention in one of the keynote addresses:

"If this country doesn't stop appropriating lots of money for good programs, and then having them hampered by indifference and other factors, we're going to have the same kind of thing that happened in Bermuda...Keep compressing neglected people into tight little compartments and there's bound to be an explosion.

Uprisings more severe than those of the '60's will strike American cities within the next few years unless the urban crisis is dealt with, New Orleans Mayor-elect Ernest Morial, who will be the city's first Black mayor, said at an NAACP function last week.

Addressing the cities convention, Morial said, "The President has neglected the interest of American cities." Unemployment and housing are the greatest problems facing this country, Morial, along with Gary, Indiana's Black mayor, Richard Hatcher, and other Black officials reiterated throughout the conference.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8



Millions of Black and poor children live a cruel existence in our nation's cities.

also took part in a separate National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials convention.

In spelling out the conference's priorities, Phyllis Lamphere, president of the National League of Cities, declared:

"First, we need a multiyear, comprehensive and integrated full employment bill which recognizes the variety of factors affecting employment and unemployment, and the special problems of minorities," she said.

"Second, we need a multiyear Comprehensive Employment and Training Act...

"Finally, we need welfare reform legislation to provide a means of support for people unable to work, or for whom no job is available."

Clarence Mitchell, Washington director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and a leader of the civil rights organization for more than 25 years, told delegates to the League of Cities



JoANNE LITTLE after her capture in New York City.

JoAnne Little Captured In Brooklyn

(New York, N.Y.) - JoAnne Little, who became a national symbol of resistance in 1975 when she killed a prison guard who attempted to rape her, was arrested here last week two months after her escape from prison in Raleigh, North Carolina.

In 1975, her celebrated trial on murder charges ended in an acquittal when it was proven in court that she was defending herself from a sexual assault from

CONTINUED ON PAGE 21

Infant Action Coalition To Expand Nestle Boycott

(Berkeley, Calif.) - The Northern California Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT) is mobilizing for two upcoming major conferences, in San Francisco on December 10 and in Berkeley on December 17. The conferences will coordinate regional efforts to combat the unethical practices of giant milk companies selling infant formula in underdeveloped countries, and to expand the nationwide boycott of Nestle, the largest seller of commercial baby milks in the Third World.

INFACT, a coalition of women, health care professionals, nutrition advocates, religious groups and activists, is spearheading a national campaign to halt the unethical promotion of infant formula.

Chronic malnutrition directly due to the unsafe use of infant formula by mothers who could have breast-fed has killed thousands of Third World babies and caused severe mental retardation in countless others.



The Third World suffers from malnutrition caused by defective baby formula.

Church groups have used stockholders' petitions and lawsuits to force a few U.S. formula manufacturers to discontinue their promotion of infant formula to mothers who can't afford to use it safely.

But Nestle, the Swiss-based transnational which sells more than a third of all the infant formula in the world, is immune to such pressures. Therefore, INFACT launched a boycott of Nestle products earlier this year.

Nestle products which have been targeted include: Taster's Choice; Nescafe; Nestle's QUIK; Nestle's Crunch; Nestea; and Libby, McNeill & Libby products.

INFACT is demanding that Nestle:

•Stop promotion of artificial formula;

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

RENT STRIKE HITS INDECENT HOUSING

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

At the request of Rooney, a reporter and photographer from THE BLACK PANTHER visited the building recently, and saw firsthand the ghetto-like conditions of the high-rent dwelling.

Mrs. Helen Robinson, a member of the tenants' committee, last month moved into a $240-a-month two-bedroom apartment that was never properly cleaned and is badly in need of painting.

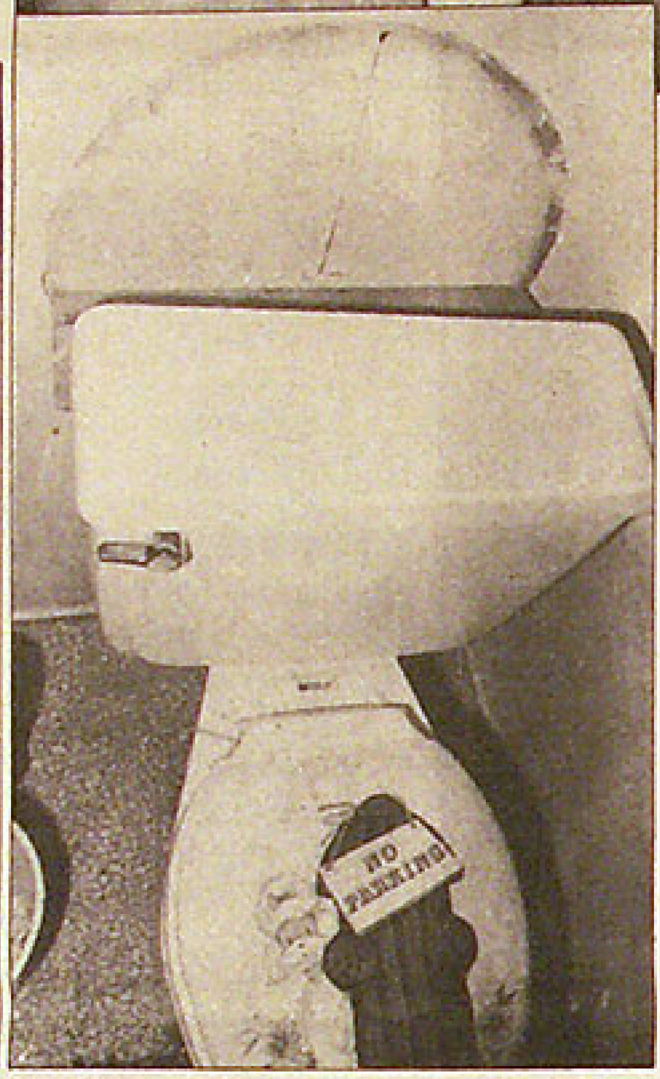
Raymond Virdier, 73, has lived in the building for four years and has consistently asked that his apartment be painted and that the open wiring in his bathroom be properly installed. The apartment was not even inspected until December 5, the day of THE BLACK PANTHER's initial visit to the building.

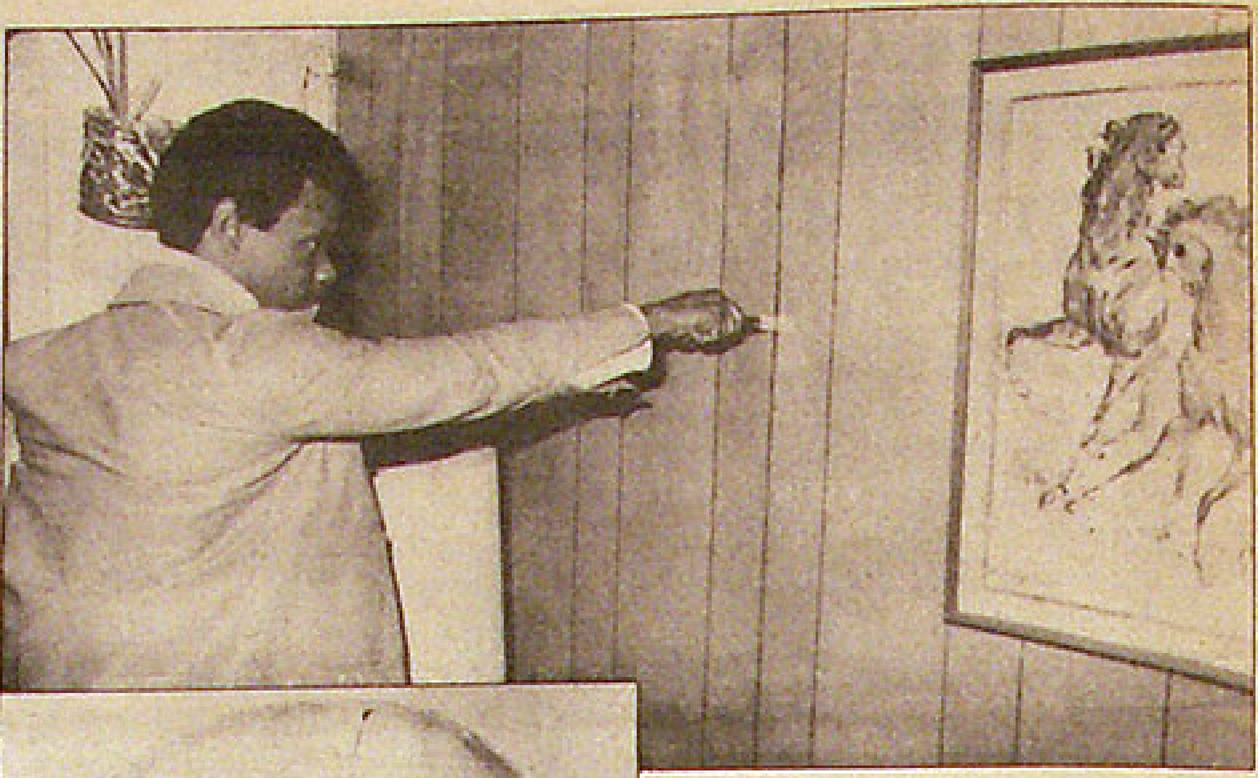
The present assistant manager of the building, who is White, received a two-week termination notice followed by a three-day notice after she attended the tenants' meeting last week. Although she was hired to clean the apartments in the building, Nickerson has only allowed her to work 12 hours a week and has not provided her with any work benefits.

She maintains that she is being fired because of her attendance at the tenants' meetings.

Nickerson, a popular guest on local radio talk shows, is under severe pressure from his tenants. In an effort to appease them and halt the rent strike, he has had minor repairs made in several apartments.







LEVI DIXON (far left) and KERMIT ROONEY, La Peralta tenants who have led a struggle against indecent housing in the Oakland apartment building. Rooney sticks a knife into a fake wall (above) and cracks in the bathroom wall (left).

The tenants' committee, however, led by Rooney, is circulating throughout the building to inform the tenants that these minor concessions are merely an attempt to appease them and that the rent strike is necessary in order for all the substandard conditions in the building to be upgraded.

In addition, Nickerson has threatened several tenants active on the tenants' committee with eviction.

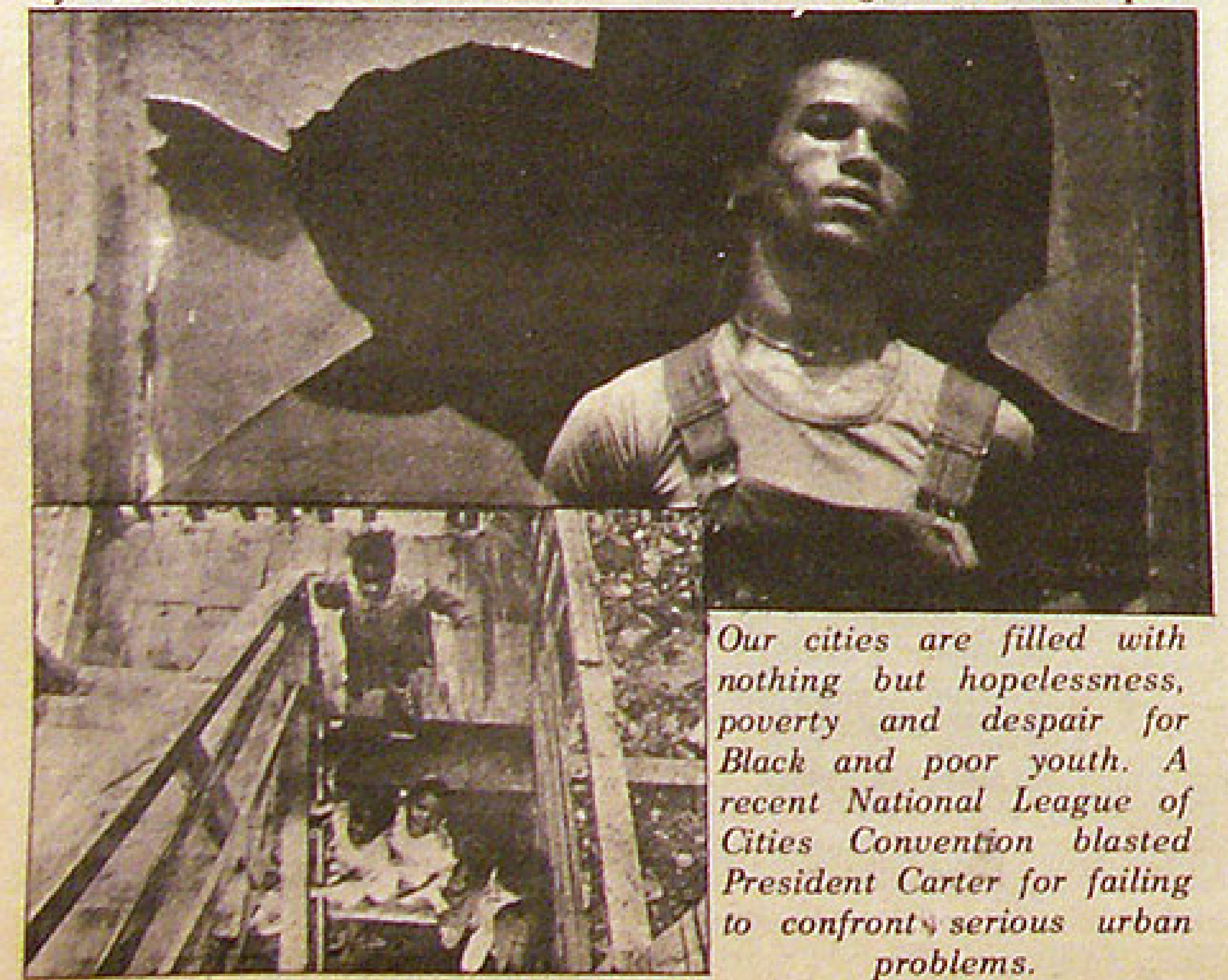
The Black Panther Party's Legal Aid and Educational Program is assisting the tenants of the La Peralta in filing a lawsuit against Nickerson for renting apartments in a building that does not meet the requirements of local housing codes.

Cities' Convention Condemns Carter's "Neglect"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

The leader of the country's largest public employee union charged that Carter's actions so far have been piecemeal, and leaks in the nation's capital indicate that the President's still unannounced national urban policy will be "a watered-down dose of snake oil."

Jerry Wurf, president of the 800,000-member American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, charged that features of Carter's welfare reform plan, which will force people to take public jobs at minimum wage rather than prevailing wage, would simply, "replace a welfare disaster with a public employment fiasco of enormous proportions."



Our cities are filled with nothing but hopelessness, poverty and despair for Black and poor youth. A recent National League of Cities Convention blasted President Carter for failing to confront serious urban problems.

Wurf said Carter's urban policy reportedly would include only one major innovation, an urban bank to underwrite municipal bonds and provide development capital for city projects.

"A $3 billion government loan for that bank would hardly meet the need for one or two medium-sized cities," the union leader said in lamenting the paltry sum reportedly allocated to the new bank.

The only economic power that local leaders have, said California Governor Edmund Brown, Jr., is the power of influence and leverage. He gave as an example his own recent success in persuading an unidentified restaurant chain to meet certain conditions if it wanted to expand into California.

Among them were requirements that the chain establish training programs for the poor and poorly trained, that it hire them, that it locate its franchises in or near poor neighborhoods, and that it make every effort to make the same people its franchise holders.

Figures published by the Joint Center lists 4,311 Blacks in elective office as of July, 1977. The total represents an increase of 332 (8 per cent) since 1976.

There were 1,185 Black elected officials counted in 1969, the first year the Joint Center survey was conducted.

Despite the steady increase of Black elected officials since 1969, Blacks continue to account for less than one per cent of the more than 522,000 elected officials in the nation.

Sixty per cent of all Black elected officials are found in the South which has 53 per cent of the national Black population.

North central states account for 20 per cent of the total Black population and about 22 per cent (958) of all Black elected officials.

The Northeast, with an 18 per cent Black population, has 12 per cent (541) of all Black elected officials, while the West, with nine per cent of the total Black population, has six per cent (244) of all Black elected officials.



Haitian refugee being transported to stockade in Florida's Everglades.

Haitian Refugees Returned To Jail

(Miami, Fla.) - Haitian refugees expecting to be released from an isolated stockade in the Florida Everglades were bitterly disappointed last week when they returned to jail — allegedly for their own well-being.

The refugees had recently been processed out of a detention center in Immokalee, Florida, where many had been held since August. They then took a three-hour bus ride here expecting to be released.

But when they arrived in Miami they were told it was better to remain in jail than to have to fend for themselves on the streets of Miami. Many of the Haitians became very angry and said in frustration that they would rather be deported back to Haiti — where they would face instant death — rather than return to jail.

Later, the Haitian refugees boarded a federal bus with barred windows and took the long trip back to the remote Everglades.

Nearly all of the refugees had braved a trip to Florida from their homeland in open fishing boats, crude rafts or by other make-shift means.

Sailing without any means of navigation, a typical refugee voyage consists of island-hopping from Haiti to the Bahamas or Cuba until the Gulf Stream sweeps them in sight of the Florida peninsula, where the U.S. Coast Guard tows them to Miami or Texas. They are then taken into custody.

In addition to fleeing a cruel and repressive government, Hai-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

POLICE "PROTECTION" UPHELD IN SEARCH OF MOTORISTS

SUPREME COURT RELAXES RULES ON WIRETAPPING

(Washington, D.C.) - In a sharply divided decision described as the first step toward the growth of "arbitrary police powers in the federal courts..." the U.S. Supreme Court last week ruled that federal district courts can order a telephone company to assist law enforcement agencies in wiretapping activities.

In a second reactionary decision, the high court ruled that a police officer who stops a motorist for a traffic violation may require the driver to get out of his car to protect "the safety of the officer."

Voting 5-4 in the first decision, the high court upheld a 1976 ruling by a New York district court in which it required the New York Telephone Company to install telephone surveillance on two telephones at a Manhattan residence *suspected* by the FBI of conducting an illegal gambling operation.

The telephone company complied with the district court order but challenged the judge's power to force its participation.

The U.S. Court of Appeals later reversed the district court's decision, ruling that judges lack such authority under the federal law.

At issue was the FBI's use of "pen registers," devices that record numbers of all outgoing telephone calls but do not intercept any messages.

Lawyers who specialize in privacy said that the New York case was very significant because the pen register equipment involved could easily be changed into a wiretap by attaching headphones and a recording device at any terminal on the line.

The Safe Streets Act of 1968 requires the FBI to obtain written approval of wiretaps from the U.S. attorney general and authorization by a federal judge. In addition, the wiretap must later be reported in detail to the person or persons surveilled and in summary form to the public.

Dissenting on the issue of the telephone company's participation in the surveillance were



White racist police gang up to brutalize Black civil rights protester. Two recent Supreme Court decisions greatly increased police powers in the U.S.



Associate Justices Thurgood Marshall, William J. Brenner, Potter Stewart and John Paul Stevens.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

Eskimos Angry Over Low Whale Quota

(Tokyo, Japan) - In a sharp reaction to an International Whaling Commission (IWC) decision last week to limit them to a total catch of 18 bowhead whales for 1978 Alaskan Eskimo leaders have issued an immediate warning that their people would be forced to break that quota in order to survive.

Eleven countries, of the fifteen nations who attended including the U.S., voted for the strict quota on the bowhead, which is essential to the physical and cultural survival of the Eskimos. The Commission ordered that "hunting shall stop when 18 whales have been struck" with a harpoon "or 12 landed (caught)." The IWC also banned the harpooning or killing of calves or whales with calves.

North Slope Borough (Alaska) Eskimo leader Billy Neakok said angrily, "This implies that we can have only half of our Eskimos' nutritional needs." The bowhead whale is used by Eskimos not only for nutritional needs but also for heating, clothing and other purposes.



Alaskan Eskimos preparing to set out on hunt for the bowhead whale, a necessity for their survival.

North Slope Borough Mayor Eben Hopson stormed out of the conference and later issued a statement which warned, "A violation of the quota will certainly take place if no other action is taken by the United States. We call upon the government of the United States to reject the unjustified action by withdrawing its membership from the IWC.

"We were willing to accept an 18 bowhead whale quota as the real bottom line," said Hopson, "although it is still inadequate for our nutritional needs. We caught 48 of them last year, due to bad weather."

The quota was a compromise measure, reports the *Associated Press*, between the U.S. and powerful whaling concerns.

As its part of the compromise, the U.S. went along with a quota of 6,444 for the sperm whale — a 744 per cent increase over the 1976 level — a figure sought by powerful Japanese and Russian whaling interests.☐

"FIGHT S. 1437"

JAN. 17 MASS RALLY TO PROTEST NEW FEDERAL CRIME CODE

(San Francisco, Calif.) - An ad hoc Bay Area coalition to oppose Senate Bill 1437 (S.1437) is presently organizing opposition to the proposed new federal criminal code with a mass rally at the Federal Building scheduled for January 17, 1978.

S.1437, the "Criminal Code Reform Act of 1977," is a compromise bill developed by Senators Edward Kennedy and the late John McClellan, with prodding from Attorney General Griffin Bell, as a result of the massive public opposition to Senate Bill One (S.1) in 1976.



Protests such as this welfare rights demonstration could be banned under S.1437.

SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE

The Senate Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures cleared S.1437 after only five days of hearings, whereas during the last Congress, S.1 required 11 volumes to cover the testimony against the repressive legislation. Early in 1978 the bill goes to the full Senate for floor discussion.

Kennedy enjoys senior status in the Senate and has a "liberal" *image, factors which will hinder* any significant opposition to S.1437.

S.1437 is just as repressive as its predecessor, S.1. Some of its provisions are:

•Criminal Contempt (Section 1331) - This section would put union members, along with political organizers, at the mercy of courts, making it a crime not only to disobey, but to express opposition, to any court order;

•Extortion (Section 1722) - Any strike, walkout, or demonstration which is accompanied by violence, no matter who provoked it, could cause participants to be sentenced to 12 years in prison and/or a $100,000 fine;

•Sabotage (Section 1111) - *Broadly* defining sabotage as damage to "property or a public facility used in or particularly suited for use in national defense," participants in labor disputes or political protests would be subject to stiff federal penalties;

•Obstructing Government Function by Physical Interference (Section 1302) — Government employees would become vulnerable to prosecution if they engaged in strikes or other actions that interfere with work schedules;

•Blackmail (Section 1723) — Defined as "threatening...or placing another person in fear that any person...will improperly subject any person to economic loss or injury to his business or profession," this section is another direct threat to striking unions;

•Leading and Engaging in Riot (Sections 1831 and 1833) — These sections define a riot as a "public disturbance" involving as few as 10 people.

Other provisions make it unlawful to express political opposition to judicial proceedings, to oppose a war, or to demonstrate against the conduct of a political case or a legislative committee such as the House Un-American Activities Committee.

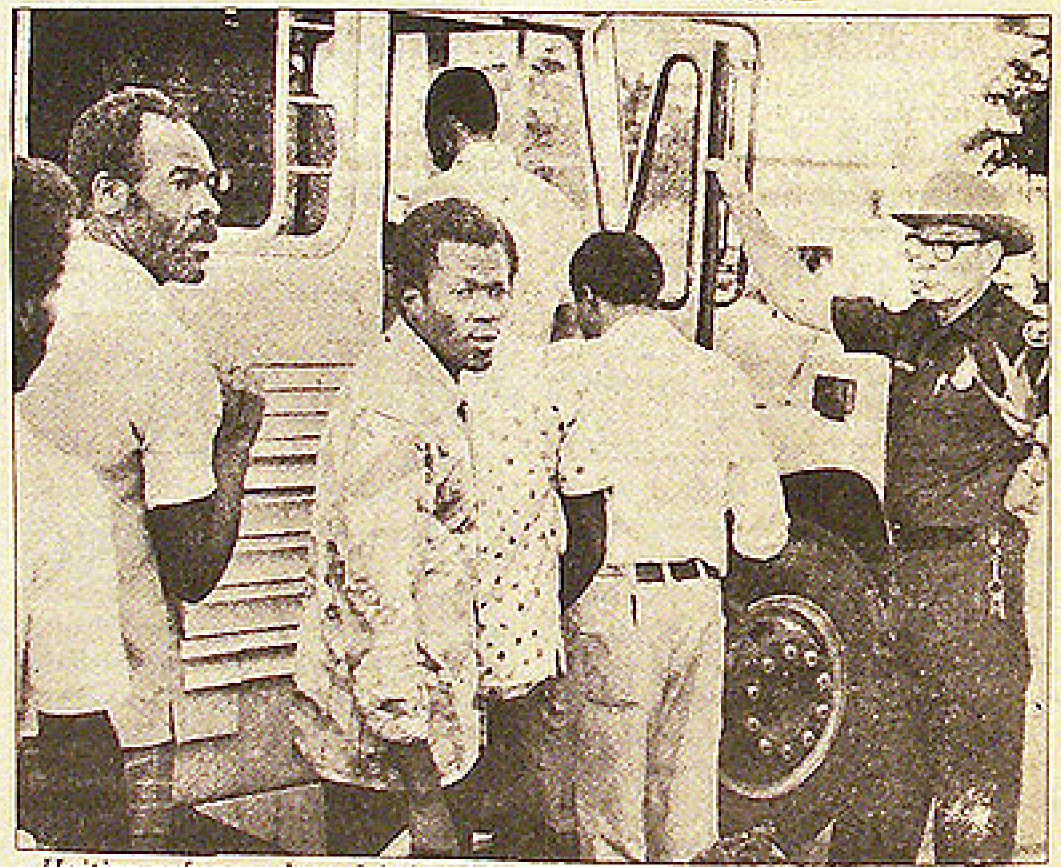
Regular meetings have been held to develop a local strategy against S.1437. Work will be done to organize community, labor, and religious organizations to speak out against the repressive bill, which opponents say is really S.1 in disguise. Aside from the rally at the Federal Building on January 17, a letter-mailing campaign to reach senators and congressmen will be initiated. □



Barlow-Benevidez Update

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The Barlow Benavidez Committee Against Police Crimes held a press conference here at the Federal Building last Monday to discuss their recent meeting with Justice Department officials in Washington, D.C., concerning the current federal probe into the June, 1976, murder of Jose Barlow Benavidez by Oakland rookie cop Michael Cogley.

The meeting was attended by a representative of the clergy, Congressmen Ed Roybal, Don Edwards, Fortney (Pete) Stark), and aides to Congressman Ron Dellums and other legislators. ANDREA BENAVIDEZ (left, above), sister of the victim, holds banner in front of the Federal Building with another member of the family.



Haitian refugees board federal bus which will return them to isolated detention center in the Florida Everglades.

Haitian Refugees Jailed

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tians are suffering from a drought that has caused widespread starvation and malnutrition.

Last month the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) claimed it was dropping its policy of imprisoning Haitian refugees before the courts could hold hearings on individual appeals for political asylum. It was also decided that the Haitians could be granted work permits while remaining in the country to fight deportation.

At the heart of the Haitian refugee question, reports the *New York Times*, is whether they are political or economic exiles.

In recent years the U.S. has opened its doors to refugees fleeing from progressive governments, giving special admission status to tens of thousands of Cubans and Vietnamese — but has refrained from giving such status to exiles from right-wing dictatorships.

U.S. immigration officials are claiming that Haitian refugees are fleeing only from poverty, not from the political persecution of the hated and feared Duvalier regime. □



Blue Cross strikers.

Oakland Police Violence Rocks Blue Cross Strike

(Oakland, Calif.) - Oakland police battered several striking Blue Cross workers and their supporters on the picket line last week, only creating an even greater unity among the over 1,000 clerical workers who walked out three months ago demanding a fair seniority system, pay increases and increased benefits.

Over 200 trade unionists, representing not only the striking Office and Professional Employees Union (OPEU), Local 29, but also the Teamsters, the International Longshoreman and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and several other labor organizations had come out to show their support last Friday, November 9, when violence flared.

Ed Collins, of the Alameda County General Labor Council, explained, "We came because management has had a bunch of goons here to intimidate the women on the picket line during the shift changes from 6:00 a.m. to 8:30 p.m.

Nearly all of the strikers are Black and minority women so Blue Cross has stationed management personnel, scabs and hired detectives and security guards outside their Northern California headquarters on Franklin Street to harass and intimidate the workers.

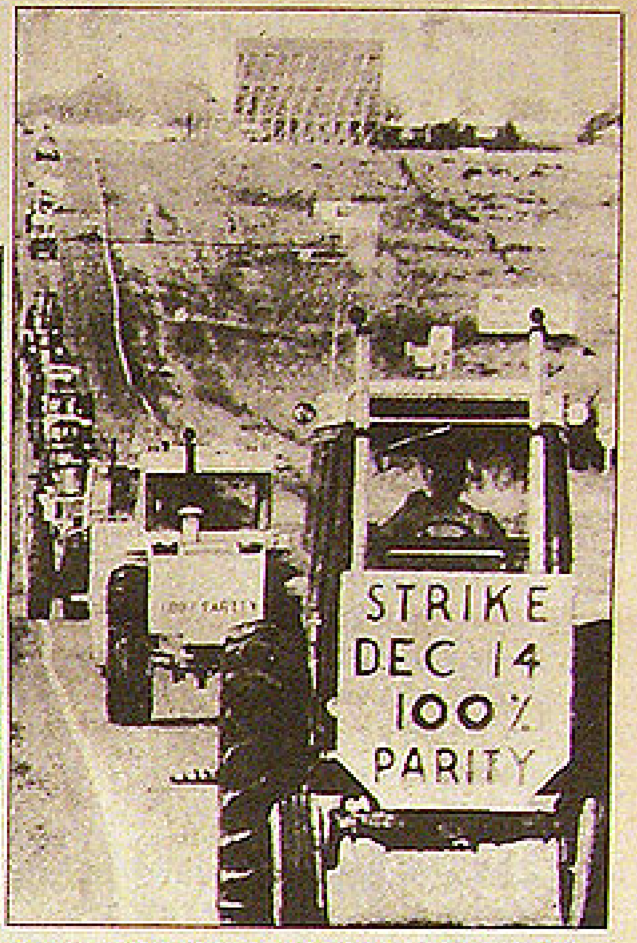
At one point during last Friday's demonstration a scab struck one of the women pickets and a scuffle quickly erupted. A dozen policemen were already in front of the Blue Cross headquarters and a dozen more

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TRACTOR BRIGADES RALLY AT STATE CAPITALS

GRASSROOTS FARMERS' STRIKE BEGINS





Over one million farmers went on strike this week demanding a fair return on their crops.

(Washington, D.C.) - Over one million farmers went on a nationwide strike this Wednesday, December 14, protesting low crop prices and high production costs.

This past weekend, tens of thousands of disgruntled farmers — in convoys of tractors, combines and pickup trucks stretching for miles — flocked to Washington, D.C., and at least 30 state capitals to rally support for their demands.

The nationwide strike will not force the Carter administration to yield to farmers' demands, however. Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland said in an interview on the CBS program *Face The Nation* a day after he had been burned in effigy in Oklahoma City in one of the weekend demonstrations.

Bergland said the administration believes that "to provide a federal guarantee of the cost of production is about as far as the federal government should go" in supporting farm prices.

Although directed against the Carter administration's farm policy, the strike is a response by family farmers to the increasing monopolization in agriculture and the growing power of agribusiness. The family farm as it has been known is fast disappearing.

"We've reached the point in this country where farmers can't continue on this way, we can't sit back and do nothing," Gene Schroder, a wheat farmer and American Agriculture Movement spokesman, told the *Guardian* recently. American Agriculture is a loosely knit Colorado-based group which organized the strike.

"Either we go out on strike or we sell out to the big corporations," Schroder said.

The Colorado group indicates that the farmers — who include producers of wheat, corn, feed grains, soybeans, sugar and cattle — have pledged to refuse to plant crops, sell produce or buy equipment as the work stoppage proceeds.

"This nation is going to go hungry if we don't plant our crops next year, but right now we have no choice because we can't afford to produce," Schroder threatened. "All Carter's farm policy does is guarantee us fantastic losses for the next few years."

The family farmers have been caught in a bind because while nominally retaining "ownership" of their produce, in reality they are totally subject to the manipulations *of the processing and* distribution monopolies.

The American Agriculture Movement charges that "the current system by which grain is marketed, based on speculation and huge windfall profits, not for the farmer...but for the speculators...is grossly unfair, it is suicide for the farmer."

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160,000 Idled By Coal Miners' Strike

(Charleston, W. Va.) - Over 160,000 coal miners went on a nationwide strike last week demanding restored health and pension benefits, higher wages and the right to local strikes.

Members of the United Mine Workers (UMW) picketed numerous non-union mines around the country in an attempt to shut down their operations.

The Bituminous Coal Operators Association, the bargaining arm of the country's 130 largest coal companies in the Appalachian and Midwestern fields, is counting on three factors to insure their victory: a three-month stockpile and the ability to service customers with non-union coal that accounts for 50 per cent of U.S. production; the threat to cut all health benfits and most retirement benefits during a strike and perhaps for a time afterwards, and a conciliatory top leadership of the UMW.



Striking coal miner.

The most powerful of these may prove to be the cutoff of retirement benefits, reports the *Guardian*. The companies are essentially holding the health and benefit fund hostage to demands for increased productivity. The pension funds, which escaped the recent benefit cuts unscathed, are the key to the situation. With over 100,000 pensioners in the union and another 25,000 working miners scheduled to retire in the next 10 years, the threat of a bankrupt pension fund is powerful.

As for the strike's impact on profits, even Wall Street admits that things are not as rosy as the coal companies say. Joel Price, a top coal industry analyst for the securities firm of Dean Witter & Co., says that "a long strike would make mincemeat out of next year's profits."

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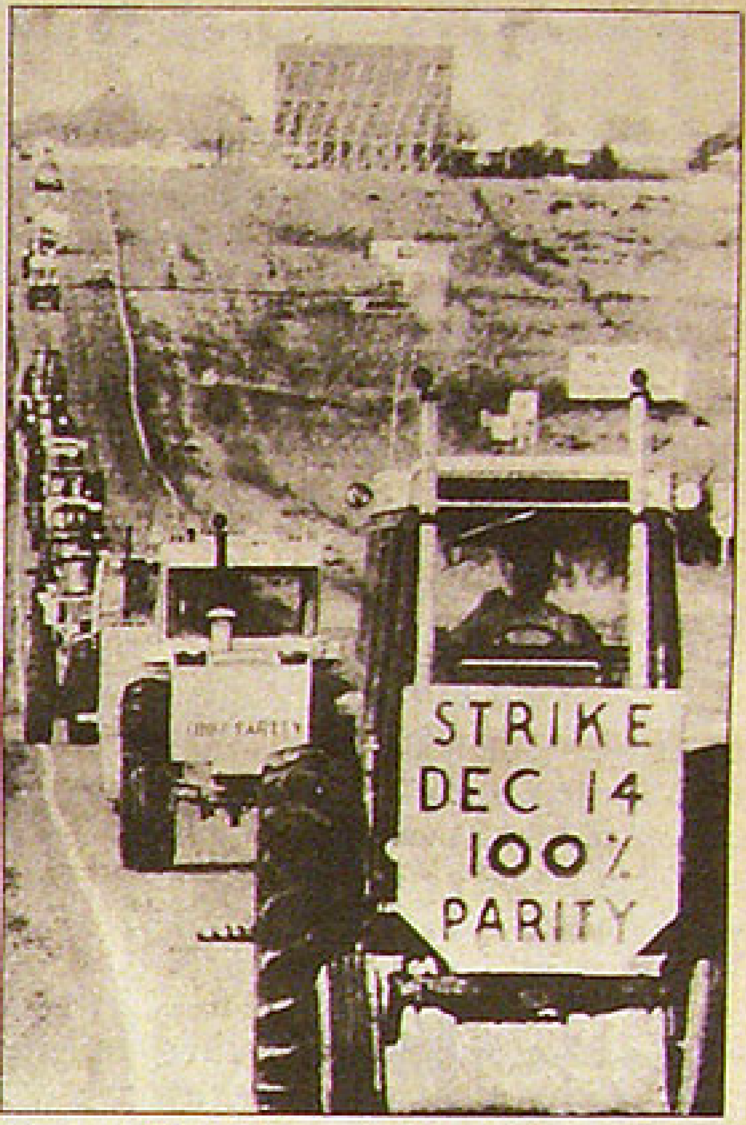
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Striking coal miner.

Hoover's Zeal To Defend F.B.I.

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bullet of any size could be located in the brain area and likewise no bullet could be located in the back or any other area of the body and inspection revealed no point of exit, the individuals performing the autopsy were at a loss to explain why they could find no bullets," read the report of one of the two FBI agents who accompanied the body of the dead President from Andrews Air Force Base to Bethesda Hospital.

Later, a Secret Service agent delivered a bullet he said someone had given him in Dallas, saying it had been found on a stretcher in the emergency room at Parkland Hospital, where Kennedy died.

But the FBI could never confirm that Kennedy was ever placed on the stretcher where the bullet was found.

Such apparent problems of ballistics, however, were seemingly ignored by Hoover. Thus, at 4:01 p.m., just three and a half hours after the shooting, Hoover called the late Robert F. Kennedy, then attorney general, to tell him the case was all but solved, *Knight News Service* reports.

"I called...and told him I thought we had the man who killed the President down in Dallas," Hoover wrote in a memo. "I stated the man's name is Lee Harvey Oswald...I said that he is not a communist but has communist "leanings..."

Curiously, Hoover's official order to agents to "follow and resolve all allegations pertaining to the assassination" did not go out on the FBI wire until 10:00 p.m. that night.

TOOTH AND NAIL

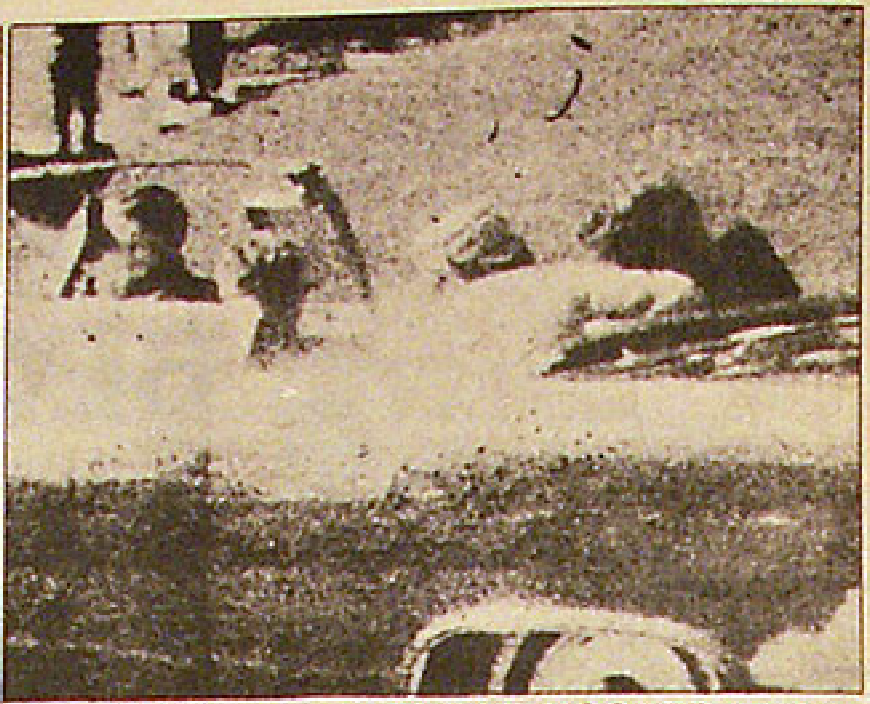
The documents also reveal that the late Bureau director fought tooth and nail to short-circuit the creation of an independent commission to investigate the assassination.

In 1976, the Senate Select Committee that investigated intelligence abuses reported:

"The evidence suggests that during the Warren Commission investigation, top FBI officials were continually concerned with protecting the Bureau's reputation and avoiding any criticism for not fulfilling investigative responsibilities...Director Hoover, himself, perceived the Warren Commission as an adversary."

FBI official C.A. Evans sent a memo that Abe Fortas, a Washington lawyer whom President Lyndon Johnson later named to the Supreme Court, counseled Johnson against creating a special commission.





Late FBI director J. EDGAR HOOVER (right) and photo of the assassination of JOHN F. KENNEDY (slumped in back seat).

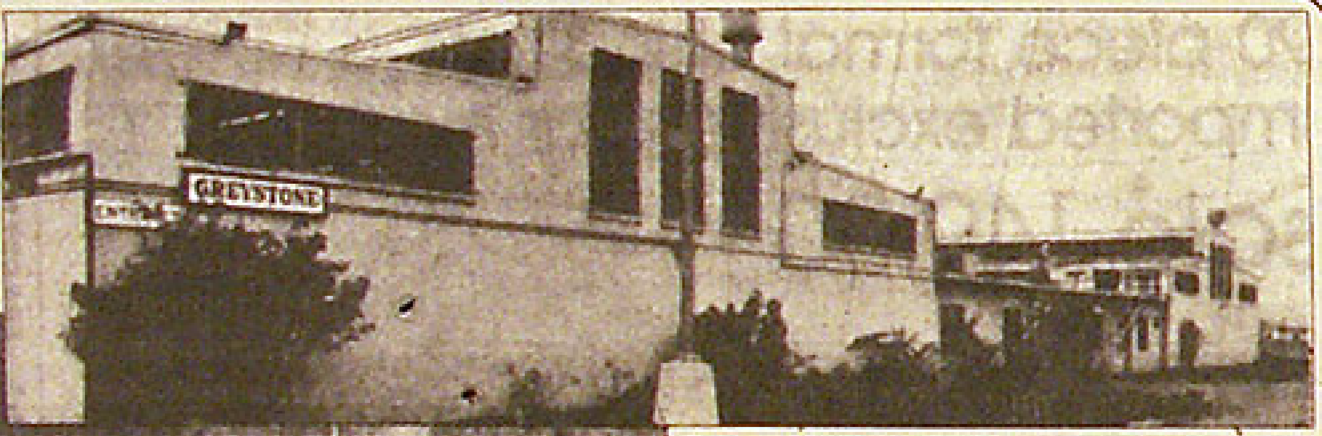
Fortas argued, Evans wrote, that "such a commission would be a reflection on the FBI. Fortas, of course, is no friend of the Bureau and there would appear some obvious underhanded motive in his using us in his argument...."

"Certainly something sinister here," Hoover scrawled below the memo.

Other memos reveal that Hoover, through his top aides, sought to enlist the help of ranking publishing and TV network officials to protect the reputation of the FBI — and plotted, with others, to "take [columnist Drew] Pearson apart" because of an unfavorable article suggesting that the FBI should have kept tabs on Oswald during Kennedy's Dallas visit.

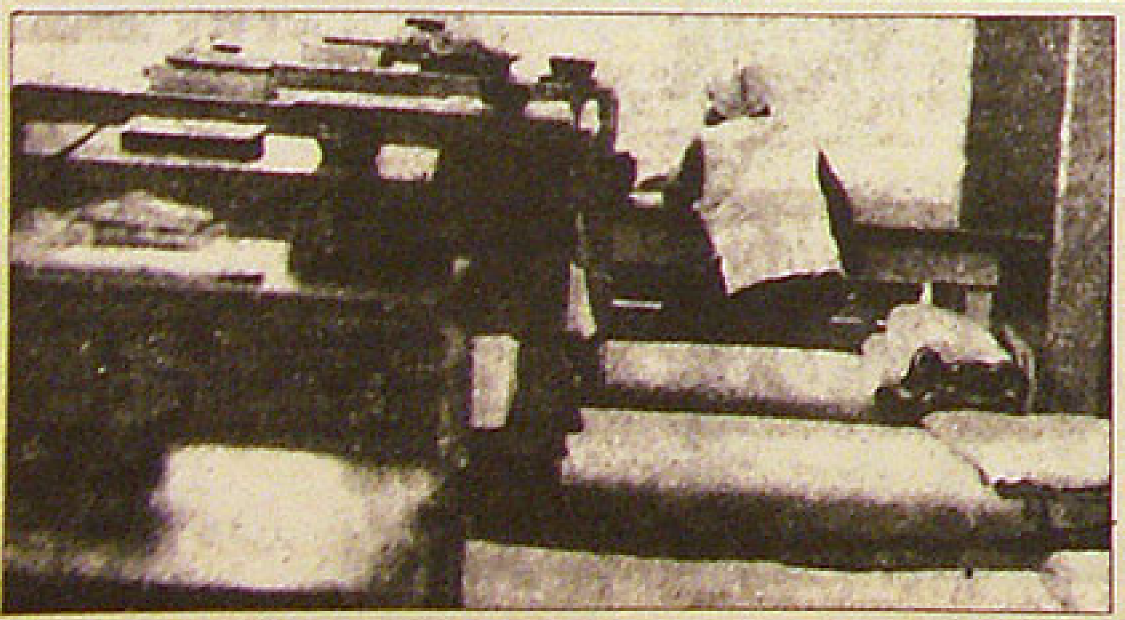
And, despite the silencing of Oswald on November 24, by Jack Ruby, Hoover issued instructions to wind up the JFK investigation by November 29, just seven days after the assassination.

Santa Rita County Jail Opened To Media









(Pleasanton, Calif.) - About 20 Bay Area newsmen were given an unprecedented "guided tour" of Alameda County's Santa rita Rehabilitation Center last week as Sheriff Thomas Houchins partially gave in to a two-year-old demand to have the center opened to the press.

The prison's maximum security compound, Greystone barracks (top photo) was singled out by the newsmen for its oppressive conditions. The media was barred from speaking with inmates and the tour was very controlled, due to the orders of Houchins.

Supreme Court

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Writing for the minority, Stevens, a conservative appointed to the bench by former President Richard Nixon, said that the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure do not grant "open-ended authority" to federal courts to issue search warrants.

"The order is deeply troubling," Stevens' statement continued, "as a portent (omen) of the powers that future courts may find lurking in the arcane (mysterious) language" of federal laws and procedures.

Concerning a police officer's right to require a motorist stopped for a traffic violation to get out of his or her car, the justices, in an unsigned decision, callously ruled that the need to protect the officer's safety is more important than the "mere inconvenience" to the driver.

The court contended that there is an "inordinate risk confronting an officer as he approaches a person seated in an automobile" and that a large percentage of the murders of police occur when they are making traffic stops.

The decision in this case reversed a 1968 ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court which had ordered a new trial for a man convicted of illegally carrying a gun that was sighted by police after his car was stopped for having an expired license plate.

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Fallen Comrade"

The chapter "Fallen Comrade" from Revolutionary Suicide *ends with the conclusion of the eulogy given by Black Panther Party founder and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton at the funeral of the courageous George Jackson. We also begin a new chapter, "Surviving," in which Huey talks about his second trial on trumped-up charges of killing an Oakland cop.*

George's last statement, the example of his conduct at San Quentin on that terrible day, left a standard for political prisoners and for the prisoner society of racist, reactionary America. He left a standard for the liberation armies of the world. He showed us how to act. He demonstrated how the unjust would be criticized by the weapon. And this will certainly be true, because the people will take care of that.

George also said once that the oppressor is very strong and he might beat him down, he might beat us down to our very knees, he might crush us to the ground, but it will be physically impossible for the oppressor to go on. At some point his legs will get tired, and when his legs get tired, then George Jackson and the people will tear his kneecaps off....

So we will be very practical. We won't make statements and believe the things the prison officials say — their incredible stories about one man killing five people in thirty seconds. We will go on and live very realistically. There will be pain and much suffering in order for us to develop.

But even in our suffering, I see a strength growing. I see the example that George set living on. We know that all of us will die someday. But we know that there are two kinds of death, the reactionary death and the revolutionary death. One death is significant and the other is not.

George certainly died in a significant way, and his death will be very heavy, while the deaths of the ones that fell that day in San Quentin will be lighter than a feather. Even those who support them now will not support them in the future, because we're determined to change their minds.

We'll change their minds or else in the people's name we'll have to wipe them out thoroughly, wholly, absolutely, and completely. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

All words are inadequate to express the pain one feels over a fallen comrade. But in a poem my brother Melvin came closer than anyone in voicing our feelings about the loss of George Jackson:

WE CALL HIM THE GENERAL

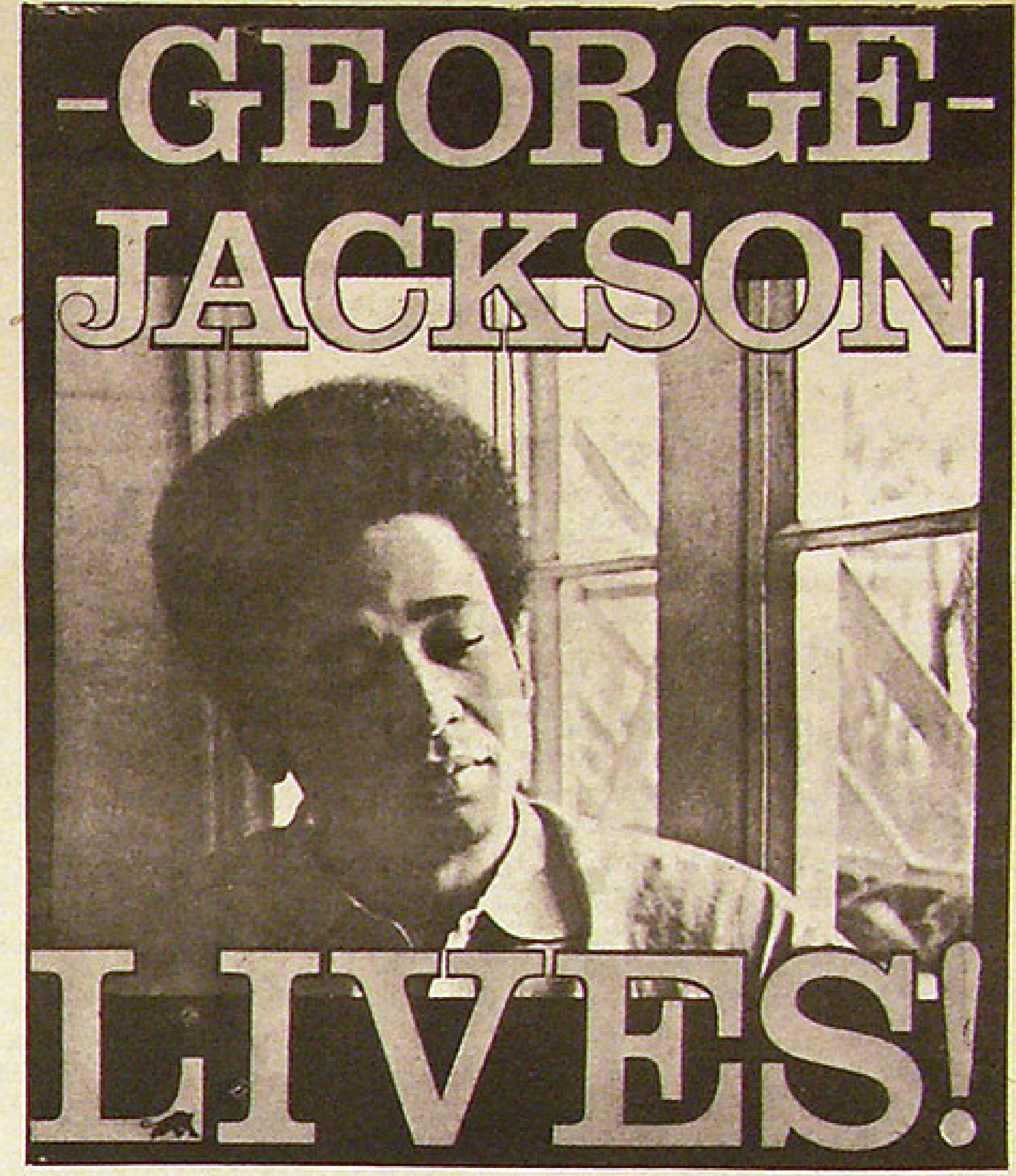
The sky is blue,
Today is clear and sunny.

The house that George once
lived in headed for the
grave,
While the Panther spoke
of the spirit.
I saw a man move catlike
across the rooftops,
Glide along the horizons,
Casting no shadow,
only chains into the sea,
using his calloused hands
and broken feet to
smash and kick down
barriers.
The angels say his name
is George Lester Jackson —

El General.
All the people went home to
their hovels,
He to the world of gods,
heros, tall men, giants
He went like the rushing
wind, the rolling tide;
The thunder's roar,
The lightning's flash;
Smashing all challengers
and devils in his path,
While caressing the leaves,
sand and sky.

"Surviving"

That Justice is a blind goddess
Is a thing to which we black are
wise:
Her bandage hides two festering
sores
That once perhaps were eyes.
Langston Hughes, "Justice"



Shortly after David Hilliard was incarcerated, jury selection began for my second trial. The same problems in selecting an impartial and fair jury faced Charles Garry once again. One of the persons questioned for my panel had just served on David's jury.

Under oath he stated that he knew nothing about the Black Panther Party and its leaders. When it was pointed out that he had just convicted David Hilliard, he said he did not know David was a Party leader. It was clear the prosecution was out to get a hanging jury.

Being tried a second time on the same charges was a strange experience, a combination of suspense and *deja vu;* most of the time I was bored by what seemed a stale rerun of a familiar and flawed drama. It was just another charade to justify their attempts to put me back in state prison for another thirteen years.

The major difference between the two trials was that this time I was out on bail, which meant that during the evenings I could conduct Party business. Also, I could not be found guilty of a more serious offense than the one I had been convicted of the first time, voluntary manslaughter.

Lowell Jensen, the first prosecutor in the first case had become district attorney, and an assistant named Donald Whyte was arguing for the prosecution. He was no match for Charles Garry, but it did not matter, anyway, because all he had to do was follow the script from the first trial.

The trial opened and moved along with most of the same set of witnesses testifying. Once again, the prosecution leaned heavily on the testimony of officer Heanes, and during Charles Garry's cross-examination of him, the first major surprise of the trial came, one that said a great deal about our opponents. During his questioning of Heanes, Garry was making the basic point that when I was ordered out of the car by Officer Frey, I was carrying only my criminal evidence lawbook.

TO BE CONTINUED

Editorials By Detained Newspaper Editor Percy Qoboza

"THE STATE MUST PAY FOR APARTHEID"

In October, the South African government as part of its massive crackdown on Black political opposition banned the country's two leading Black newspapers, the World *and the* Weekend World, *and arrested their influential editor, Percy Qoboza. While an advocate of Black majority rule in South Africa, Qoboza, as the following editorials from the two banned newspapers indicate, has long been regarded by activists in the Azanian liberation struggle as a moderate.*

THE STATE MUST PAY FOR APARTHEID

Last June we had the unfortunate riots which left hundreds dead in their wake all because people in high places would not listen to the repeated protests of student and teacher organizations over the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction at some schools.

It is significant to note that when the students released their ire it was aimed at the system and, in Soweto and other places, at West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) property.

It has been proved down the years that when helpless people wish to take out their anger on powerful, armed authority which they believe is making life unbearable for them, they take it on themselves by wanton killings and attacks on buildings which will not strike back.

Since the WRAB took control of Soweto from *Johannesburg City Council*, relations between residents and officialdom have hit an all-time low.

We are afraid that the announcement of impending rent increases, covering everything from a site rental to a grave, a hostel bed to church and hall rental, will instead of ameliorating relations, aggravate relations. When relations deteriorate further, heaven help us, because the events of last year will look like a Sunday school picnic.

These are bad times with inflation and mass unemployment the order of the day, and we implore the people who have the destiny and fate of the country in their hands to reappraise the situation.

The WRAB has said it cannot bear the brunt of rising working costs any longer and if we take its point then the business sector should play a meaningful part with strenuous efforts to pay salaries to match the spiraling cost of living.

The business sector is not responsible for Soweto and other Black "townships." It, too, is in the throes of an economic slump.

No, Soweto and other Black "townships" are the responsibility of the state.

When the state took control of Black "townships" through various administration boards, we were given the assurance that the state had the resources to do for Black "townships" what poorer city and town councils could not do — improve and control Black townships.

The state, in taking control of Black "townships" through the various boards, would keep in line those town and city councils which were torpedoing state policy — spelled apartheid.

The state has a duty to subsidize rents. It must pay for its apartheid policy.

IT'S RIGHT TO INTERFERE

This has been a great week for "meddling." Both American and Britain, in different ways, have renewed their efforts to destroy apartheid.

And the cry has gone out, as it always does: "Don't meddle in our internal affairs!"

This is the stock reaction of White South Africans to the world's attempts to do South Africa a favor by pointing out that our present system of government is blind, stupid and evil.

True, South Africa's problems must finally be worked out by South Africa's people. But beyond that, the "don't meddle" refrain is totally wrong. The world has a right and a duty to pressurize South Africa.

Firstly, on purely humanitarian grounds — outside interference is largely an attempt to save South Africa from the death and destruction to which the present system is leading.

Secondly, on moral grounds — Christianity and every other religion, and every acceptable philosophy in the entire world, teaches that race discrimination is wicked. And while there are dozens of very imperfect countries, we are the only one to structure our entire society around discrimination.

Thirdly, through self-interest. Most countries of the world have had their own racism problems, and are now desperately trying to overcome them.

The longer South Africa remains a visible example of sheer racism, the longer the fires of past resentment will be kept alive in Black people everywhere else.

Let our White countrymen take note: The clamor for change, REAL change, is now a crescendo. American Vice-President Mondale has laid the U.S. stand on the line — and may his country follow up his words with firm and unmistakable action.

The British workers who worked to stop yesterday's F.A. Cup broadcast to South Africa have shown their hatred for our system. And, of course, the voice of the Black people here is constantly gaining volume.

Let those in power pull their fingers out of their ears and listen, while they still can.

THE PASS LAWS MUST GO

The "Minister of Bantu Administration and Development," Mr. M.C. Botha, must be the biggest joker around here. His announcement a few days ago that he was "changing the pass laws" to make it unnecesary for employees to have their passes endorsed each month by their employers, was a hopeless gesture.

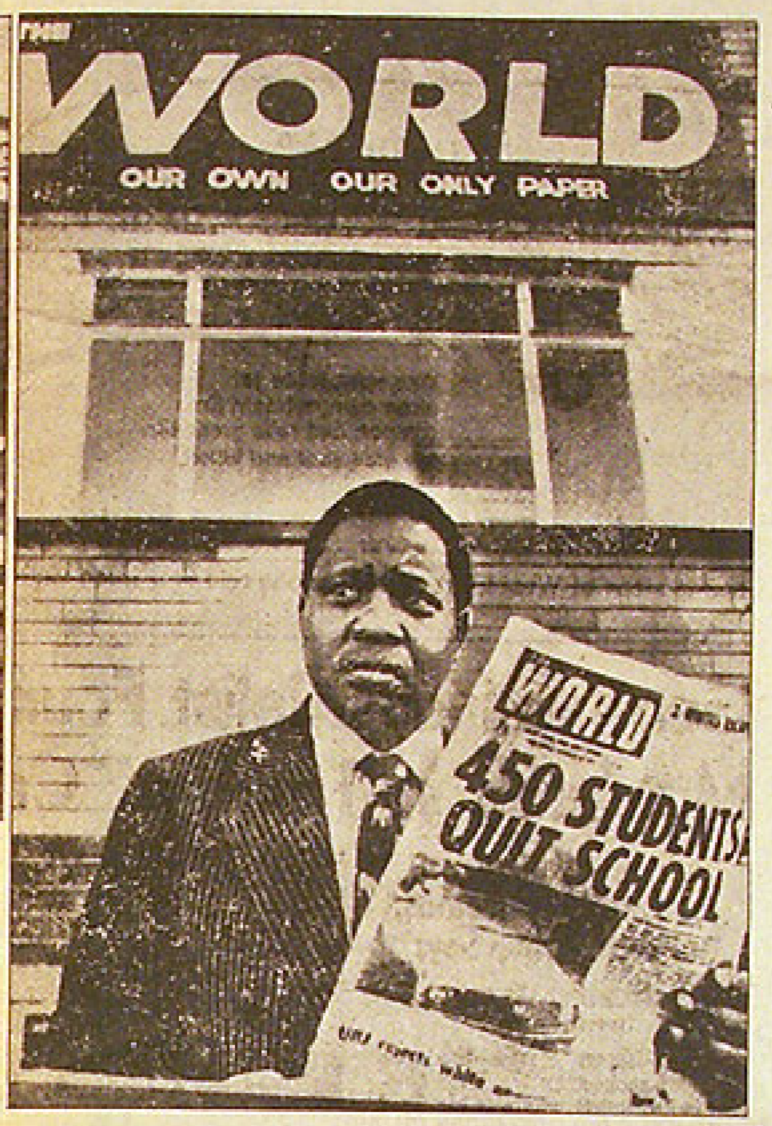
The whole thing shows just how insensitive the government remains to the dehumanizing effects of the pass laws. What is needed is not just a meaningless concession such as the one the minister announced, but the scrapping of the pass laws.

It was ironical that this was one of the areas about which the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Walter Mondale, spoke strongly. He suggested that South Africa should scrap these laws in his summit meeting with the "Prime Minister," Mr. B.J. Vorster.

Mr. Botha has reacted to the American plea with the concession he announced. We are afraid that this is not going to keep tens of



PERCY QOBOZA (right), editor of the banned Daily World *newspaper, has been detained by South African authorities since October 19 due to his unwavering opposition to apartheid. Above, Qoboza's wife, ANN, with their three children.*



thousands of our people from becoming instant criminals annually under the pass laws. It is not going to remove the stigma of being regarded a second class citizen.

It will not minimize the bitterness and anger of staying in queues for days on end. It will not remove the humiliation of being arbitrarily stopped by the police in the streets and asked to produce the document.

Broken homes will continue to prevail as the pass laws decree that a man and wife cannot live together simply because the latter was born in a wrong city or rural area of South Africa. The concession will not remove the injustice which makes it impossible for us to take employment where we want to and for whom we want to.

The harm already done to race relations by the pass laws demand that the government should scrap them altogether, and not modify them.

APARTHEID STINKS

An international conference revising Red Cross Conventions in Geneva has now finally decided that apartheid must now be classified as a war crime.

There was not a dissenting voice among the 100 nations that were represented at that conference — futher evidence of the growing isolation and hostility this country is facing in the international community.

South African newspapers, as was expected, have been quite hysterical about the outcome of the conference. Yet for once, the world community is saying what we have been saying for decades. Namely that apartheid is a brutal attack on human dignity and a violation of all norms of decency treasured by all civilized and Christian communities.

Racism is ugly. People can never really appreciate how ugly it is unless they can paint their faces black and try to exist under conditions Blacks are expected to survive in this country. Apartheid eventually must be seen as a defiance of everything our Christian faith stands for.

•An assault on God's children simply because they happen to have been born with the wrong skin color.

•Apartheid means a perpetual second class citizenship in this country of your own birth.

•Apartheid means being turned into an instant criminal simply because you are black, you are expected to carry certain documents with you at all times, and heaven forbid if you are foolish enough to forget them in another jacket.

•Apartheid means rewriting the scriptures from "what God joins together let no man put asunder" to "what God has joined together the pass laws and migratory labor system CAN put asunder."

•Apartheid means the effective promotion of racial hostility among the people of our country.

•Apartheid means paying a Black doctor less than you pay his White colleague — in spite of the fact that they possess the same qualifications and underwent the same training.

•Apartheid means slamming people in to jail because they happened to be in the White by night towns at the wrong hour of the night.

•Apartheid means political domination. Social deprivation. Economic discrimination. And more.

•Apartheid means separate development. Separate development equals differentation. Differentation is equivalent to plural democracy. Plural democracy is multiracial apartheid. Multiracial apartheid threatens to give birth to Swiss Canton systems. Canton systems, in South African terms, is a White man's solution to the problems of South Africa.

And White man's solution to the problems of South Africa are unacceptable to Black people. At the end we end up with apartheid. And apartheid stinks in the nostrils of Black South Africans and the nostrils of all people who value human dignity around the world.

This is the evidence that came out of Geneva a few days ago.

THE GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO DIVIDE BLACKS

THE GREAT myth that Blacks in South Africa are divided ethnically and that if one had to force a system of integration among them, then you would have tribal wars, is a diabolic plan designed to tear Black solidarity right down the middle.

It is interesting to note the whole concept of separation of tribal groups did not come from Black people themselves, but from White South Africa.

In this evil plot they had ready collaborators in "homeland" leaders, Urban Bantu Counselors, school boards and Black teachers themselves who allowed themselves to be employed in ethnically divided schools.

In all fairness to high school teachers, they are more or less in schools that cater for everybody. It is the lower primaries and higher primaries we are concerned with.

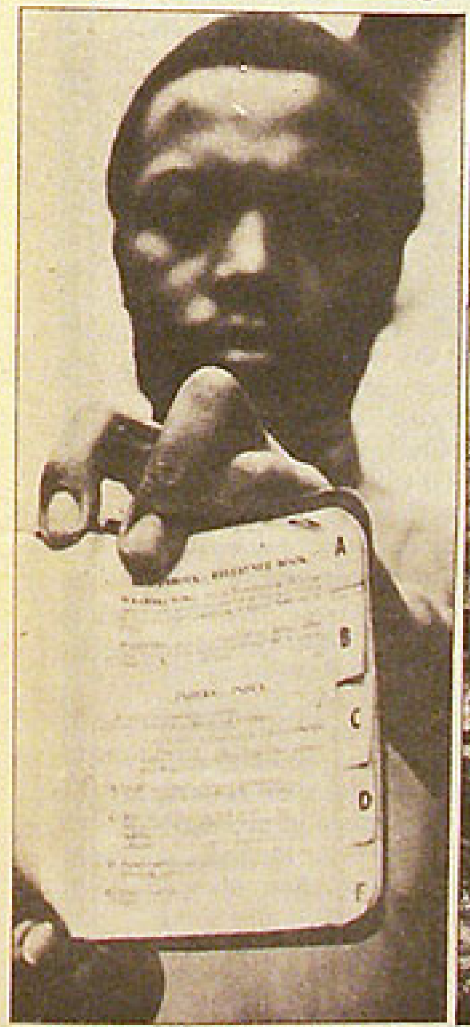
For decades, before the advent of the Nationalist Party, our people enjoyed a normal educational system. We were happily integrated at all levels of education, including nonracial universities.

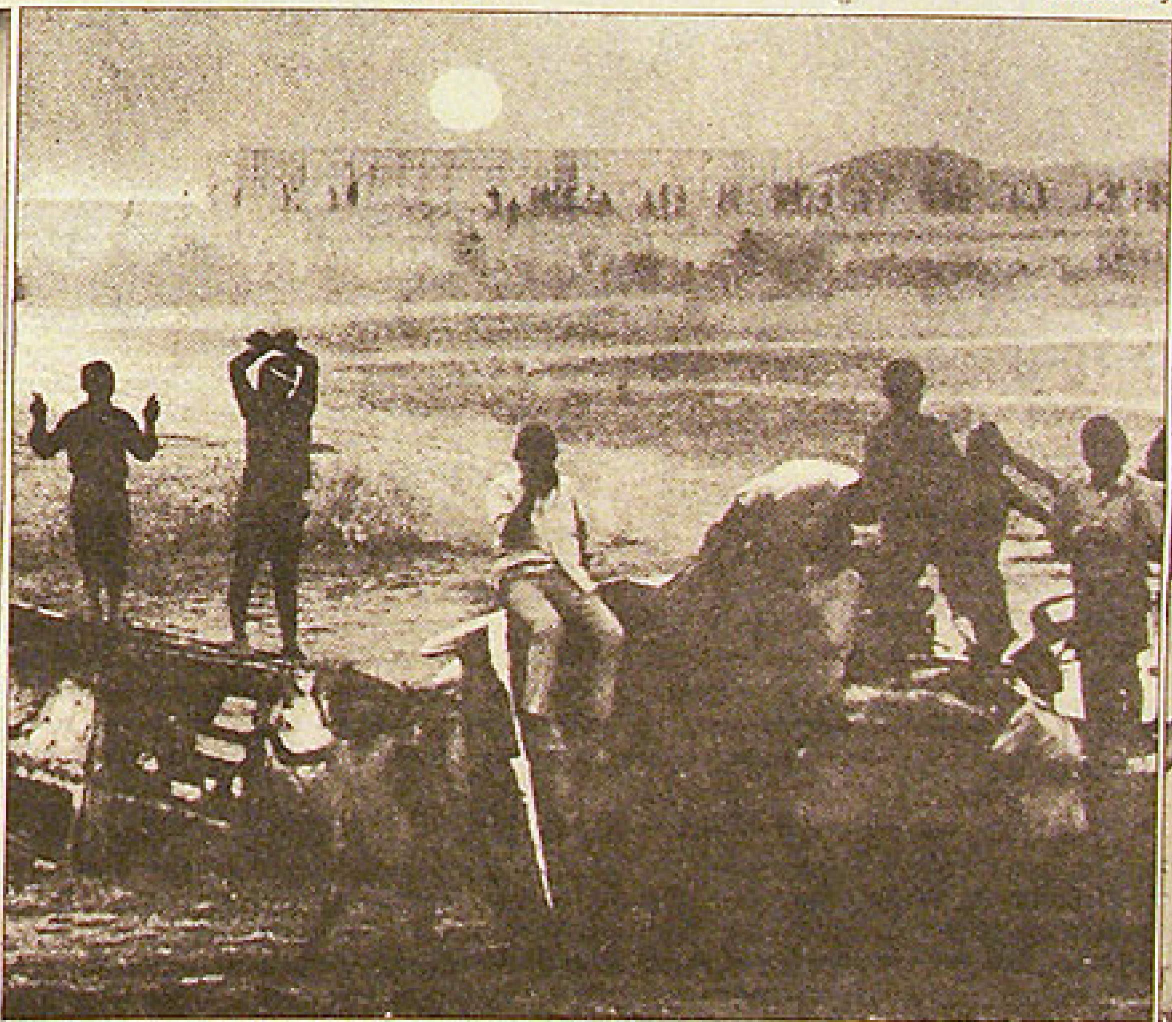
The coming of the present government heralded a new era in which the whole concept of separation was vigorously pursued. And this has now finally given birth to the growing resistance against the system in South Africa.

This is why there is growing reaction against Urban Bantu Councils. There is now antagonism against school boards. There will be greater pressures on "homelands" and other tribally created institutions that have been forced down the throats of our people in the last three decades.

In other words, the system of apartheid, separate development or whatever you want to call it, must now come to an end. And it must be replaced by a system in which Black and White decide around the conference table what is the best acceptable plan for peaceful existence among the people of South Africa.

There is just no shortcut to this happening. □









Black South Africans display hated passbook (left), which must be carried at all times; Soweto children play in rubble in the aftermath of violent protest against Vorster regime; Azanian citizen is placed under arrest by South African police (top right); and Azanian workers in gold mine.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, when ever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



FIDEL CASTRO with AGOSTINHO NETO during a recent visit by Castro to Angola.

Castro: Cuba's Role In Angola Not Negotiable

(Havana, Cuba) - Angrily attacking recent White House reports on the alleged build-up of Cuban troops in Angola and throughout Africa, Premier Fidel Castro said here last week that his country's role in Angola has nothing to do with normalization of relations between the U.S. and Cuba and that the issue is non-negotiable.

During nine hours of separate talks with two U.S. congressmen, Fidel responded to allegations by the Carter administration that Cuban involvement in Africa is preventing the re-establishment of full relations between America and the Caribbean island republic.

"If the issue of Cuban-American relations is placed in the context of Africa, the restoration of relations will not advance. We are not willing to enter into any kind of compromise on that. If it becomes an issue, it's going to become an impediment," the Cuban leader declared.

Prior to their departure for Havana, Congressmen Frederick W. Richmond of New York and Richard Nolan of Minnesota met briefly with Carter, who directed them to tell Fidel "to get out of Angola."

Addressing the United Nations General Assembly's Political Committee last week, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Andrew Young engaged in a bitter tirade against Cuba, accusing the country of "stepping up tension, spreading conflict" and causing "unnecessary loss of life" in Africa.

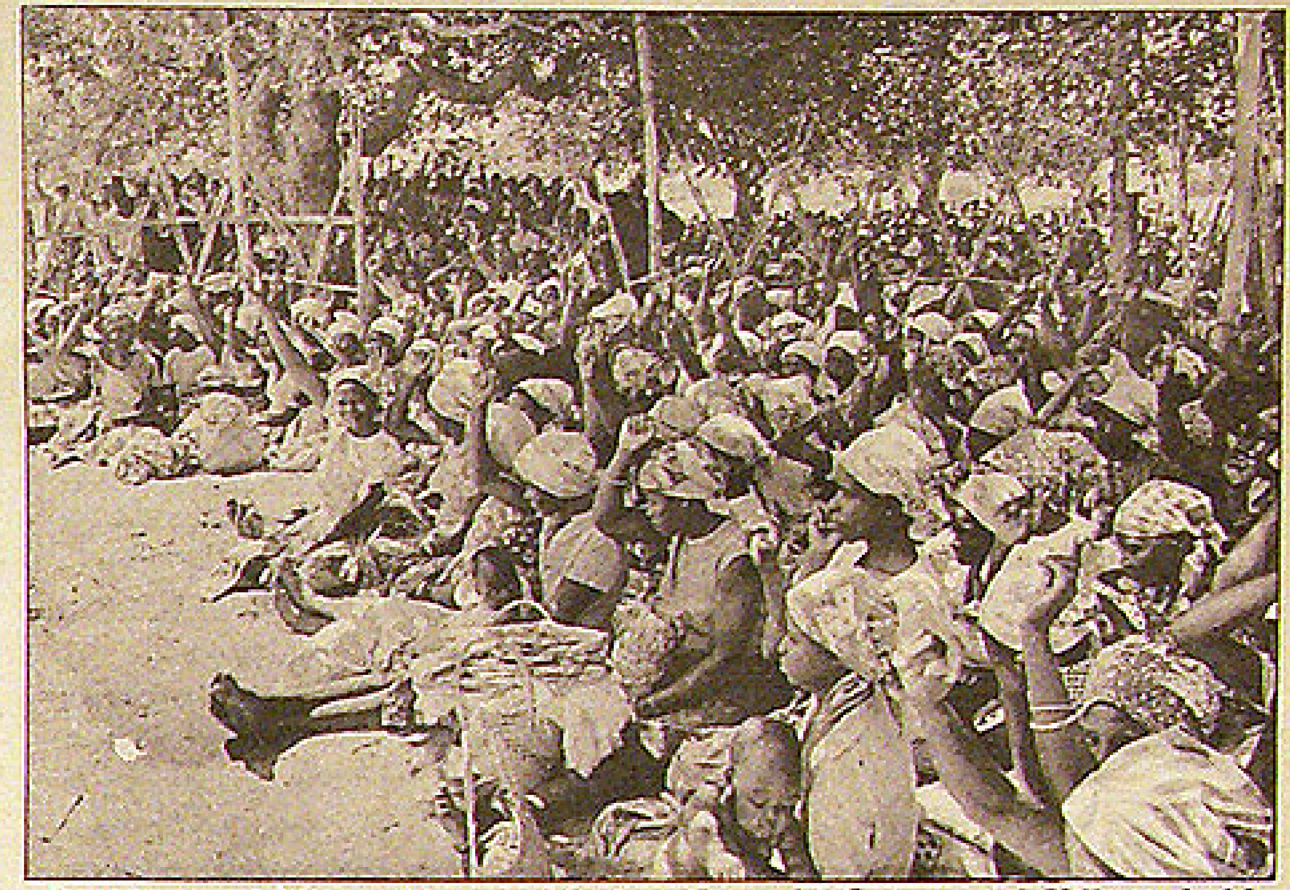
Meeting in an informal post-midnight session with the U.S. journalists, Fidel told them that

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

CORRUPT POLITICIANS REJECTED FOR LOCAL ASSEMBLIES

MOZAMBICAN ELECTIONS PROVIDE "TREMENDOUS EDUCATION"

The article printed below is excerpted from a much longer story written by the Mozambique Information Agency detailing the recent general elections in the People's Republic of Mozambique — in which millions of the country's Black population had the right to vote for the first time.



Residents of Mozambique's Marien Ngouabi Communal Village hold election for local assembly. Millions of Mozambicans exercised their right to vote for the first time in the country's recent general elections.

(Maputo, People's Republic of Mozambique) - Would-be parliamentarian Armando Ndimande withdrew from Mozambican political life with all the dignity he could muster, which was not a great deal.

With the denunciation of the voters ringing in his ears, he stuck his Sunday hat firmly on his head, folded his jacket over his arm, pushed out his considerable paunch and marched off staring straight ahead to avoid the eyes of his accusers.

Like scores of other candidates in the Mozambican general elections, Armando Ndimande was rejected because his past finally caught up with him, in this case in the Marien Ngouabi Communal Village near the town of Xai-Xai in Gaza Province.

The village is one of the many set up in the province following the disastrous floods of February this year which displaced thousands of families. The 1,700 or so residents formerly lived in scattered homesteads around the Limpopo Valley, so they are not yet the kind of tight-knit community where everybody knows everybody else.

Thus it was possible for elements with dubious histories to achieve some standing in the community. One such person was Armando Ndimande, a member of the local Grupo Dinamizador. (These "G.D.'s" are grassroots political bodies which were set up as embryo FRELIMO committees at the time of the transitional government in 1974-75 when power was being transferred from Portugal to FRELIMO.)

As an active member of the local G.D., it was natural for Ndimande to be picked by FRELIMO as a candidate for the Assembly of the People in Marien Ngouabi Communal Village. However, in rural Mozambique word gets around, and the truth came out on election day, one hot Sunday in November.

The candidates were being presented to the villagers one by one. Voting is done by a show of hands and the first half-dozen candidates, men and women ranging from 20 to over 60, were elected as deputies to the Assembly without much dissent.

"Armando Ndimande," shouted the election official. The name was repeated several times but it soon became evident that the candidate was not present.

"All right," said the election official, "he's not here but I think everyone knows Armando Ndimande. So let's vote. All in favor, raise their arms."

A few hands went up, but the majority were clearly hostile. Voters were invited to explain what was wrong with the candidate. And as they came forward to speak, it turned out that in colonial times Nimande had been a "capataz" — a foreman on the plantation of a wealthy Portuguese farmer. And an unscrupulous capataz, too.

These capatazes were generally notorious for their bullying, but the villagers' stories revealed Ndimande as a particularly callous and brutal individual.

It seems that poor peasants used to cultivate food crops on unused parts of the plantation and Ndimande was in the habit of confiscating these crops, either for himself or his boss. One man told how the candidate had cut down and taken away all his corn just when it was ready for picking.

Another explained how Ndi-

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INTERVIEW WITH S.F. VICE-COUNSEL

SOUTH AFRICAN OFFICIAL CALLS U.S. CRITICISM OF APARTHEID "UTMOST HYPOCRISY"

(San Francisco, Calif.) - *"We are not racial supremacists! We believe in Black Power!"*

Although this is not the typical impression most, if any, Black Americans have concerning the Republic of South Africa, whose internal policy of apartheid is universally-condemned for subjecting over 18 million Black and Colored people to the life-and-death whims of four million Whites, the statement quoted above represents the opinion at least one White South African official wants the readers of THE BLACK PANTHER to maintain.

What's more, Adrian Woudstra, vice-counsel of the South African consulate here, asserts that the White minority government of recently re-elected Nationalist Party leader John Vorster is diligently moving to implement "necessary changes," including the elimination of racial discrimination.

What's more, Woudstra asserts that "criticism directed against South Africa from American sources is, we feel, the utmost form of hypocrisy...It basically comes from a misrepresentation of the true facts...."



Over 18 million Black and Colored people suffer daily from South African apartheid policies.

Frankly, it was not in search of the "true facts," for the crimes against humanity committed by the South African government are known all too well around the world, but rather the motivation of an impulse "to see what *these people* have to say for themselves" that THE BLACK PANTHER conducted an exclusive interview with Mr. Woudstra.

With this in mind — along with the side thought, "Do White South Africans even shake Black people's hands?" — this reporter went over to the South African consulate, one of five the Vorster government maintains in the U.S. and the only one on the West Coast, located, incidentally, in the heart of San Francisco's financial district.

After a brief wait in the consulate's sparce outer office — adorned only with picturesque travel brochures, "Come Visit *Fun* South Africa," along with color posters of lions, tigers, flying birds, etc. — Woudstra greeted us cordially, shaking hands and escorted us into his office — where he proceeded to provide a polite, well-versed, hour and a half justification for some of the grossest human rights violations the world has ever experienced.

In response to our first question, "Just why does the South African government maintain a consulate in San Francisco?" Woudstra explained that the office was there "to protect the interests of South Africans in this are," whom, he said, are here in substantial numbers.

He added: "Due to our political situation, more of our activities are such as this, to represent South Africa as we see it."

And what of that "political situation"? How does the South African government react to the worldwide condemnation of its policy of apartheid?

It was at this point that Woudstra launched his attack upon American "hypocrisy."

"I've been here for three years," Woudstra continued. "I've studied the situation. I've visited East Oakland and the Haight-Ashbury district. I've looked at all the statistics.

"My feeling is that, with the situation of young Blacks, it's just a spark and they will stand up and take what they feel is rightfully theirs. And I think the government knows this.



South African cop.

"It's a question of having a guilty conscience. It's very human to look at somebody else's faults and to say, 'You're bad,' if you quite well know that you're doing the same thing — or something quite worse..." (Later in the interview, Woudstra cited U.S. treatment of American Indians as "genocide" under United Nations guidelines to back this same point.)

"We have certain transgressions, which we openly agree to but we still have a free press, we still have an independent judiciary."

"Free press?" "Independent judiciary?" What about the arrest and continued detention of Percy Qoboza, editor of the banned influential Black newspaper, the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

Africa In Focus

Zaire

(Kinshasa, Zaire) - Under pressure from President Mobutu Sese Seko, the entire cabinet of the Zairean government resigned last week as part of Mobutu's plan for nationwide "reforms." As the result of an invasion into Zaire's copper rich Shaba Province by the Front for the Liberation of the Congo (Zaire was formerly known as the Belgian Congo) earlier this year, Mobutu's popularity has severely declined. Consequently, five months ago he announced that he would make some reforms but did not specify what they would be. The reactionary Zairean leader, who has replaced several army commanders and other leading officials, has won a nationwide plebiscite for a new seven-year term as president.

South Africa

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - A bomb exploded and blew a hole in a police station near here last week, the second such incident in the Johannesburg area in two weeks. The incident occurred outside the main police station in Germiston, an industrial center about eight miles east of here. There have been several similar bombings throughout South Africa in the last several weeks, and the country's police allege that Black nationalists are responsible.

Rhodesia

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - The second session of "Prime Minister" Ian Smith's talks with sellout Zimbabwean (Black Rhodesian) leaders was held here last week. Joining Smith for discussion of his alleged plan for Black majority rule were Bishop Abel Muzorewa, president of the United African National Council (UANC), Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, head of the African National Council (ANC), and Chief Jeremiah Chirau, leader of the Zimbabwe United People's Organization (ZAPO). Smith is seeking to create a Black-ruled government that will be controlled by the White minority.

SOWETO LEAFLETS

"WE DECLARE A HOLY WAR AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA"



Militant Soweto youth demonstrate against South Africa's fascist Vorster regime.

Since the first Soweto uprising of June, 1976, thousands of leaflets have been distributed throughout the Black "township" calling on the people to unite to overthrow the oppressive apartheid regime.

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents exclusive excerpts of these powerful leaflets, each a stirring message of liberation, each a "declaration of war" against the White minority government of South Africa.

"Africans, the Black nation is being destroyed by the Boers of Kruger. It is time we wake up and have no fears on matters concerning our rights. When you are just sitting and watching the end of this struggle, what do you think of the children who die day by day in front of you? Do you think they are mad?

"Africans, let us not waste our time because of empty fears. Africans, let us be one. Let us share the same thought as Boers do when they kill a Black prisoner in jail. The Black nation is being destroyed while you are just looking. Don't you want to be liberated from the strong reigns of the Boers? Don't deceive yourself by losing hope of freedom.

"African, let us advise you. Don't be a traitor such as a policeman, a teacher, a detective, a shebeen queen or king. Resign from that job not later than October 30, 1977, or else you will regret it. Africans, the freedom is not far. Now Vorster, Kruger and Pik Botha are shaking because of the fear...

"Father and mother, if you love your child, don't send him/her to school of Bantu Education or else you will regret it. Everyone who contravenes these instruction shall regret the day he/she was born.

"I am a Black man and I live South Africa. That alone should be enough to tell anyone, whose eyes are not blinded by prejudice, of the burdens I have to bear as a Black man in this country.

"I feel wronged and deprived, wronged because I am looked upon as an inhuman beast, a creature of the wilds with neither dignity nor feelings. I feel deprived because I am denied my rights as a human being.

"When I take my children to school they must receive an inferior education because they are Black. When I must work I must earn a pittance because I am Black. I must live in conditions that no human being can voluntarily live in.

"I must do all the dirty work. My movements are controlled. I must be threatened with imprisonment if I protest. I must be exploited, I must not own land, I must be subjected to perpetual servitude not because I do not qualify as a human being, not because I have a lesser intelligence, but because of the color of my skin.

"We have suffered for too long in silence. Our patience has run out. Our continued silence shall only mean that we condone these inhuman atrocities perpetrated against us by the White terrorist regime.

"It is the duty of every self-respecting Black man to stand up in defiance of this system. Only our courage, our determination and our sacrifices shall bring about the emancipation of the Black man in this country...

"We the people of South Africa declare for our country and the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White; that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people...

DECLARATION OF WAR

"In the life of any nation there comes a time when it has to decide between whether to submit and to fight. That time has come to the Black nation in South Africa.

"We shall not submit because every thing we have sacrificed so far we would have sacrificed in vain. We have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power in defense of our people, our future and our freedom. There is no other alternative open to us but to fight....

"We are absolutely sick and tired of apartheid, of our leaders being arrested, detained, banned and even murdered by the South African fascist, terrorist regime; more and more repressive laws being rammed down our throats. Every effort to protest is met with brutal force and ruthless retaliatory reaction by this abominable regime.

"For the last half century we have tried to be peaceful, disregarding the repressive laws aimed at silencing our voice of protest. Now we have come to a point where we can't take it anymore.

"The White man has refused to heed the voice of reason and instead he declared war on everything we held dear. Now we the Black people of South Africa here and today declare war on everything that represents White domination in our midst and elsewhere.

"We declare war on everything that is unjust, a holy war, a war of the oppressed against the oppressor, a war of the exploited against the exploiter, a fight for the restoration of right.

"The struggle is of the people for the people and by the people. It is all inclusive, student, teacher, doctor, nurse, worker or employer. It is your struggle, it is your war...

BEWARE OF FALSE FRIENDS

"We want one democratic system of education in one undivided democratic South Africa for all — with no dividing into races, groups, tribes. We have stood up as sons and daughters of all oppressed people not as Colored, African, Indian. To label us in separate groups is an insult to us. It is to deny us our humanity.

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Bokassa Crowned



(Bangui, Central African Empire) - JEAN-BEL EL BOKASSA I was crowned in a lavish ceremony here last week, becoming the only African head of state carrying the title of emperor.

An ex-sergeant who spent 23 years in the French regular army (the Central African Empire, formerly known as the Central African Republic, was a French colony prior to its independence), Bokassa I holds numerous medals for fighting in World War II and the Vietnam war. The Central African Empire, whose population of two million primarily lives on subsistence farming, is a very poor country, and Bokassa has become a controversial figure because of the expensive coronation ceremonies.

Coalition

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

•Stop mass advertising of formula;
•Discontinue free samples;
•Discontinue gimmick "milk nurses";
•Stop promotion through the medical profession; and

Prevent the use of formula by mothers who do not have the means or facilities to use them safely.

In another major case aimed at halting the unethical promotions of U.S.-based multinationals, last year, the Sisters of the Precious Blood, an Ohio-based religious order, sued Bristol-Myers for "misstatements" in the company's proxy statement. The company falsely stated that its infant formula products are not marketed where "chronic poverty or ignorance could lead to product misuse or harmful effects."

Earlier this year, U.S. District Judge Milton Pollack dismissed the suit. However, the Sisters have filed an appeal, which has received widespread support. For more information on this case, write: Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, 475 Riverside Dr. Room 566, N.Y., N.Y. 10027.

For more information about the Nestle boycott, contact: Infant Formula Action Coalition, 1278 Noe Street, San Francisco, Calif 94114.



Baby formula distributed in the Third World by U.S. and Swiss-based multinationals is a major cause of infant death and malnutrition.

Oakland Community School

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

of the children, serving the three free meals provided daily to the children and numerous other activities.

The dedicated work of parents at the Oakland Community School not only helps to maintain the school but gives the children a sense of security to know that their parents are actively involved in and concerned about their education. The enthusiasm of the *parents is one reason why the OCS is truly a community* school.

TO BE CONTINUED

World Scope

Bermuda

(Hamilton, Bermuda) - The government of Bermuda last week lifted the curfew imposed two weeks ago at the height of a violent uprising by the Black community here protesting the hanging execution of two Black activists. However, a state of emergency which allows police to arrest people and search homes without warrants was left in effect. Officials announced that 92 people had been arrested and that eight Black Bermuda soldiers have been charged for refusing to carry firearms during the disturbance. The predominately Black, left-wing Progressive Labor Party blamed the rioting on the majority party in Parliament, the conservative, mostly White, United Bermuda Party.

Portugal

(Lisbon, Portugal) - Portugal's 16-month-old Socialist Party-ruled government collapsed last week after a vote of no-confidence by the major opposition parties. Prime Minister Mario Soares has resigned and now President Antonio Ramalho Eaves will try to form a new government. If this fails, the 263-seat assembly will be dissolved and new general elections called.

F.A.O.

(Rome, Italy) - The U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) conference concluded here earlier this month with key discussions continuing to focus on the need to accelerate the Third World's food production. Representatives of 12 countries and international organizations spoke at the 20-day conference. According to the FAO, the total volume of food produced in developing countries exceeded 728 million tons last year, a 13 per cent increase over 1974. A further rise is expected this year. This has a positive effect on raising the Third World's self-sufficiency in food grains and reducing their dependence on food supply from major Western powers.

DYNAMIC GROUP LAUNCHES FUNDING APPEAL

FREE SOUTHERN THEATER SERVES NEW ORLEANS BLACK COMMUNITY

(New Orleans, La.) - The widely-traveled and well-respected Free Southern Theater has expanded its well-rounded, community-based cultural program and has recently initiated a nationwide campaign to obtain contributions to continue to develop the wide variety of services it offers the Black community here.

The Free Southern Theater, "A Theater for those who have no Theater," is known nationally for its performances of works dealing with the joys and sorrows of Black people in America.

Aside from its accomplished performing group, the Free Southern Theater (FST) sponsors a Community Theater Program, a Youth Program, a Playwriter's Workshop and a cultural program in Parish Prison.

In the past year, the Free Southern Theater has initiated two more meaningful programs — a Playwright-In-Residence Program and a "weekend" series in which the FST opened its facilities to other cultural organizations.

The Community Theater Program trains people from the community who have not had any theatrical experience. The training consists of acting, dance and body movement, voice and improvisation.

These skills enable community persons to participate in productions at the Free Southern Theater's facility in New Orleans.



The distinguished Free Southern Theater provides a wide range of activities to the New Orleans Black community along with sponsoring a touring company that has performed nationwide.

The program for young people is geared toward helping the children develop an understanding of themselves.

Inside New Orleans' Parish Prison, the FST has developed 10 talented and articulate young Black men who have staged five performances of the play, "Opportunity" in New Orleans' Rehabilitation Center on Gravier Street. The performances were excellent and the play generated a great deal of excitement. The FST and Delgado College are now preparing a video tape of the show.

A documentary theater piece, the play "Where Is The Blood of Your Fathers" (the work of the FST's Picture Performance Group), examines the role of Black people in the U.S. in the period between 1827 and 1860. This piece is currently available for touring.

Playwright Theodore Ward is the FST's first playwright-in-residence in the FST's new program. Ward is teaching the Playwriter's Workshop and giving guidance to interested people on how to write plays.

The Black playwright feels that it is very important that every effort is made to encourage and develop the inherent creative talents of Black youth. In the past year Ward has made a significant contribution toward the expansion of the FST's active, community-based cultural programs.

To obtain more information about the dynamic Free Southern Theater or make contributions, contact the Free Southern Theater, 1328 Dryades Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70113, or call (504) 581-5091 (office) or (504) 581-5114 (theater).

(The FST is a very talented group of young Black artists who are attempting to fill the cultural void in our community. Their performances accurately reflect the present and past struggles of Black people. The Theater is presently supported by foundation grants, government aid and friends of theater. Yet this has not been sufficient so community support is the key to the FST's healthy existence.)

JoAnne Little Captured In Brooklyn

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

jailer Clarence Alligood when she stabbed the White guard with an ice pick.

Ms. Little had been serving a seven-to-10 year sentence on breaking and entering at the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women before she escaped on October 13 of this year.

She was captured in New York last week after a man claiming to be her fiance, Vernell Muhammad, called police and told them that Little could be found in a maroon Buick with a companion, George McRae.

Muhammad had told the authorities in North Carolina that he had been in touch with Little several times since her escape and had visited her in Brooklyn, New York. Muhammad claimed that he had been trying to convince Little to turn herself in, and failing in that, had flown to New York where he met her and McRae.

Muhammad told police that he had tried to persuade Ms. Little to surrender again, to no avail. Following a dispute in which McRae accused Muhammad of telling the police Ms. Little's whereabouts, Muhammad ran out of the car and called the police.

Ms. Little and McRae were later arrested after a high-speed chase through the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, reports *The New York Times*. According to Muhammad, the reason why he was so cooperative with the police was that Ms. Little was pregnant by him and he was concerned for the safety of her and the future child.

Ms. Little was booked on several charges, including reckless endangerment, and was also held on a North Carolina fugitive warrant. McRae was held on third-degree assault, reckless endangerment and other charges.

A spokesman for the North Carolina Corrections Department said extradition proceedings are already under way. If she is returned, Ms. Little will be returned to the same prison from which she escaped, since it is the only facility for women in the state.

Ms. Little's attorney in New York, William Kunstler, said that he would fight any extradition attempt. "It would be dangerous for her to go back," said Kunstler. "She doesn't have a chance in North Carolina," he said.

Ms. Little's lawyer in North Carolina, Jerry Paul, had contacted Kunstler and asked him to represent Little at any of the proceedings held here. "I had hoped she would turn herself in," said Paul.

Ms. Little was denied parole last year, but was placed on work-release, working as a dental assistant. However, in early October her work-release privileges were suspended when she allegedly reported late and had missed a day's work at the dentist's office.

She had been separated from other prisoners in Raleigh after her suspension from the work program. Then on October 15, she escaped one month before she was to have another parole hearing.

Summation At Biko Inquest

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

suspected that he had suffered a stroke and was trying to get Dr. [Ivor] Lang [district surgeon in Port Elizabeth] as a matter of urgency during the morning of the 7th.

(D) He remained so shackled even after his hands, feet and ankles were swollen and cut.

(E) He remained shackled on the mat on the floor, after he was seen by Dr. Lang, for the whole day of the 7th and during the night of the 7th/8th, despite sufficient concern about his health to arouse Lieutenant Wilken to call Major Fisher [officers in Colonel Goosen's unit], who in turn called Colonel Goosen.

(F) He remained shackled during the morning of the 8th. Security policemen say that he had not made use of toilet facilities offered, but the fact is that he was found in urine-wet trousers and blankets, on a wet mat.

(G) The two medical practitioners who saw him during their lunch hour on the 8th were sufficiently concerned to seek the assistance of a specialist. However, Biko was still left there, shackled, in wet trousers and a wet bed until he was removed to the prison hospital at about 2100 *[hours — 9 a.m.]*.

ANOTHER PHYSICIAN

(H) No attempt was made to get another physician when it was known that Dr. Hersch would not be available until late. Biko was left shackled on the mat.

(I) Although Biko was shown some kindness by prison warders (who alone seem to have shown some appreciation that Biko was a sick man) no channels of communication were established to report his condition to the doctors.

(J) His obviously confused behavior in trying to have a bath with all his clothes on or sitting in an empty bath, although reported to the doctors and Colonel Goosen, produced no change in their attitude to him.

(K) For contradictory and inadequate reasons he was moved from the prison hospital and placed in a cell, ostensibly to make it easier for Dr. Lang to see him regularly. In fact, this meant that he was removed from the semi-skilled care of the prison, removed from a bed to a mat, and again left naked in an ordinary cell.

(L) He had not been back in the police station above a few hours when he was found in a state of collapse on the floor by Sgt. [Paul Janse] Van Vuuren [a warder]. The senior officers and Dr. [Benjamin] Tucker [chief district surgeon in Port Elizabeth] were again hurriedly called in. Again there was insistence on only a prison hospital, even if it was 1,200 [kilometers ÷ 750 miles] away and even if only a van was available as transport.

(M) He was transported approximately 750 miles lying naked in the back of a land rover without any medically qualified person to attend to him and with nothing more than a bottle of water by way of equipment.

(N) No medical reports were furnished by the doctors of Port Elizabeth nor were they asked for by the security policemen who took Biko to Pretoria.

(O) Although Biko had to be carried into prison by four men using a mat as a stretcher a further attempt was made by the security policemen from Port Elizabeth to persuade the officials at the Pretoria prison that the obviously sick man might be feigning illness and that he was on a hunger strike.

(P) He was sent all the way to Pretoria prison because there,



STEVE BIKO, recently murdered by South African police.

according to Colonel Goosen, there were "outstanding medical facilities." For Biko these facilities proved to be a mat in the corner of the cell, the attendance of a newly-qualified general practitioner six hours after his arrival at the prison, a diagnosis based on false reports of a hunger strike and that other doctors had found nothing wrong with him, a drip and a vitamin injection and nothing more.

(Q) At no time was any member of Biko's family or any friend informed of his condition. He died a miserable and lonely death on a mat on a stone floor in a prison cell.

It is difficult to comment on these facts in measured terms.

The doctors — for whatever precise reason — felt themselves beholden to the security police. Upon being called in, Dr. Lang gave a patently false certificate. Neither he, nor his superior, Dr. Tucker, made any inquiry of their patient as to the origin of even the lip injury which, at least, they admit seeing. They did not even direct any inquiry to the police.

This studied lack of curiosity can only be explained either by their active collaboration with the police or a deliberate election not to embarrass the police, nor indeed themselves, by asking questions to which the answers were obvious.

And as time passed, one falsehood was compounded by another: Dr. Lang's false report...that nothing wrong was found and Dr. Tucker's claim that the dying man was in a satisfactory condition on his removal to Pretoria.

The police felt confident they could rely upon the doctors to support them. And their confidence was justified. Perhaps strengthened thereby they, with gross impertinence, presented to this court a totally implausible account of Biko's death, starting with a fanciful description of a struggle violent in the extreme in which no blow was struck, a bizarre account of an alleged shamming when to any candid observer a man's progress to his death was being seen and decribed and all the while the refusal to acknowledge the head injury.

ABUSE OF POWER

A court — including an inquest court — is the brake upon the abuse of power. It must be made known by this court that the penalty for falsehood contemptuously fabricated is not merely rebuke or reprimand but a firm finding adverse to the fabricators; if you create a tissue of lies it can only be that you dare not speak the truth.

Accordingly the verdict which we submit is the only one reasonably open to this court is one finding that the death of Biko was due to a criminal assault upon him by one or more of the eight members of the security police in whose custody he was at on September 6th or 7th, 1977.

This inquest has exposed grave irregularity and misconduct in the treatment of a single detainee. It has incidentally revealed the dangers to life and liberty involved in the system of holding detainees incommunicado.

A firm and clear verdict may help to prevent further abuse of the system. In the light of further disquieting evidence before this court, any verdict which can be seen as an exoneration of the Port Elizabeth security police will unfortunately be interpreted as a license to abuse helpless people with impunity. This court cannot allow that to happen. □

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Mexico

(Mexico City, Mexico) - An unprecedented peacetime exchange of prisoners began last week between the U.S. and Mexico when 37 Mexican nationals and 142 Americans were repatriated. Forty-one of the returning U.S. prisoners were released immediately. About 60 are eligible for mandatory release under terms of the treaty. A total of 57 Mexican and 236 Americans, 96 of them Californians and 34 of them women, will be exchanged. That leaves over 2,400 Mexicans in American jails and 336 Americans in Mexican jails. The prisoner exchange is largely a legacy of the Nixon-era crackdown on drug trafficking which resulted in over 500 Americans being imprisoned in Mexico.

The Mexican prisoners who have returned home thus far have bitterly condemned their treatment in U.S. prisons. "The treatment was savage and inhuman, and worse towards Mexicans and Chicanos (Americans of Mexican origin)," said spokesman Enrique Granados Otero. "They treated us like animals. The food was subhuman — rotten meat and vegetables every day." He said prisoners were beaten or attacked by guard dogs for the slightest alleged offense and made to work long hours for no pay. "Homosexuality is widespread in American prisons because they don't allow conjugal visits," said Otero. The Mexican prisoners also complained that drug traffic was rampant and that authorities used narcotics to control prisoners.

Cuba

(Havana, Cuba) - As a humanitarian gesture the Cuban government has agreed to release Frank Emmick, an American CIA official imprisoned since 1963 on charges of espionage. Cuba agreed to release Emmick, 63, who is in failing health, and four other Americans following an appeal by Representatives Frederick Richmond of New York and Richard Nolan of Minnesota who visited the island last week. The Cuban government charged Emmick with being the CIA chief in Cuba. Cuban Premier Fidel Castro has been the target of several assassination attempts linked to the CIA.

SPORTS

ROSS BROWNER NAMED TOP LINEMAN

TEXAS' EARL CAMPBELL WINS HEISMAN TROPHY

(New York, N.Y.) - Earl Campbell, the bruising, Black 220-pound running back of the No. 1-ranked Texas Longhorns, last week received the Heisman Trophy, college football's most coveted award.

The 22-year-old senior topped the nation in rushing (1,744 yards) and scoring (19 TD's) in leading the Longhorns to an 11-0 season, the only perfect record in college football this year.

Campbell says he will take part of the money he will receive when he signs with the pros and "build my mother a house where she can lie down at night and not look up and see the Big Dipper."

Campbell, the fifth oldest of 11 children living in an unpainted frame home in the middle of a rose field, was raised by his widowed mother in the small Texas town of Tyler.

"I'm going to do everything in my power to see that the remainder of her days will be the happiest of her life," said Campbell.

Campbell was selected from among three finalists who included Notre Dame tight end Ken MacAfee and Oklahoma State running back Terry Miller. He also won one of six individual honors, as top running back. Other winners were MacAfee (offensive lineman); Ross Browner, Notre Dame (defensive lineman); Jerry Robinson, UCLA (linebacker); Zack Henderson, Oklahoma (defensive back); and Chris Ward, Ohio State (offensive lineman).

The Texas fullback was also a decisive winner last week in the *UPI's* College Football Player of the Year award.

Campbell received 36 votes against five for Terry Miller and three for Ken MacAfee.

As a senior at Tyler, Campbell was heavily recruited as Texas' No. 1 high school running back. Darrell Royal, then the Longhorns' head coach, recalls his recruiting session with Campbell:

"I told him," said Royal, "I didn't want to buy him, I just hoped he would come to Texas. He looked me right in the eye and said, 'My people were bought and sold when they didn't have a

EARL CAMPBELL, University of Texas running back, won the prestigious Heisman Trophy award this year while Notre Dame's ROSS BROWNER (inset) was picked as the top defensive lineman in the country.





choice...nobody is going to buy Earl Campbell.' "

"The only difference in Earl Campbell as a freshman and a senior is about 4,000 yards," said Texas coach Fred Akers.

Akers, Texas Athletic Director Darrell Royal and the "Horns" coaching staff studied films of Campbell's running and determined that 1,054 of his 1,744 yards this season were gained after he was first hit by a defensive player.

Campbell gained 4,443 yards rushing during his four-year career. He set school records for season touchdowns (19), career touchdowns (41), and touchdowns in a single game (4), a feat he accomplished twice.

Meanwhile, Ross Browner, a Black 6'3", 247-pound defensive end who led Notre Dame to a 10-1 season and a Cotton Bowl berth opposite Texas on January 2, last week was named *UPI* Lineman of the Year for 1977, the second straight season he has been so honored.

Browner holds all the defensive career records for Irish football. This season he made 104 tackles, recovered two fumbles and sacked the quarterback 18 times for minus 130 yards.

Enrolled at Notre Dame's College of Arts and Letters, Browner holds the Irish career record of 12 fumble recoveries and has a career record of 340 tackles, leading the team in tackles-for-losses each season. Last year, Browner was named winner of the Outland Trophy as outstanding lineman of the year and was one of four finalists for the Lombardi Trophy. □

Cuban Boxers Dominate U.S.

(Houston, Tx.) - Cuba's national boxing team dominated its first meet ever with a U.S. team recently with seven victories to their opponents four before a crowd of over 7,000 in the Houston Astrodome.

Contrary to the predictions of U.S. boxing experts the Cuban fighters put on an excellent showing against the American squad, winning several difficult matches.

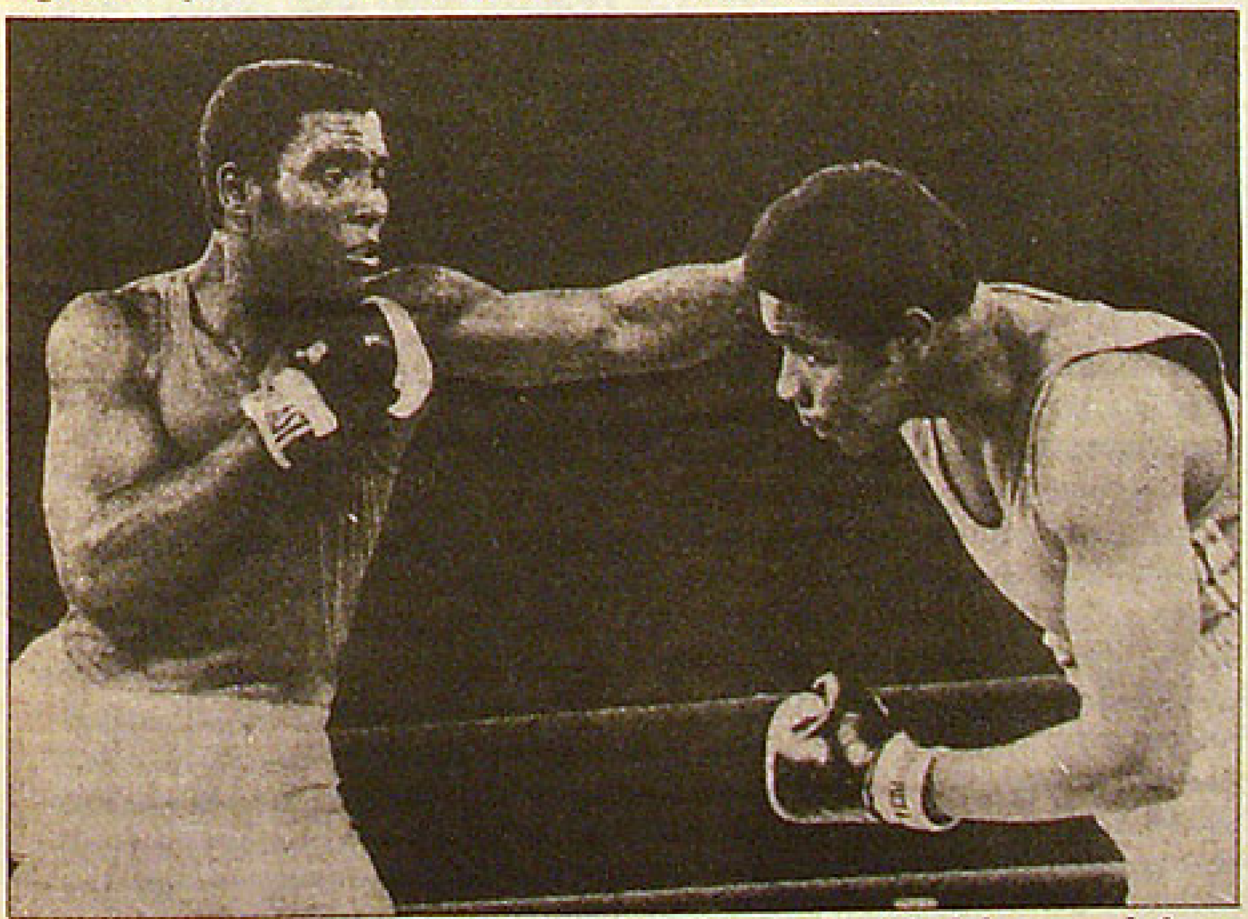
The favorite of the crowd was two-time Olympic gold medalist Teofilo Stevenson, and the handsome, popular heavyweight was given a thunderous welcome when he was introduced with the audience shouting, "Cuba, Cuba!" Although he did not fight, Stevenson was the center of attention with hundreds of fans coming up to him for his autograph. Before the event was over, Stevenson was signing everything — even paper cups, the Cuban daily *Granma* reports.

DIFFICULT FIGHTS

The Cuban delegation experienced several very difficult fights, notably Angel Herrera's bout against Lockbridge of the U.S., and Milian of Cuba's see-saw battle with Greg Page. Herrera won by a unanimous decision while Milian prevailed with a 2-1 decision. However, Cuba's Adolfo Horto was clearly superior to Wayne Lynun of the U.S.

Other winners for Cuba were: Jorge Hernandez, who beat Robert Sandoval; Andres Aldama, who beat the U.S.'s Shield, a local favorite, and Jose Gomez, another rookie, who beat Holmes of the U.S., a top-ranked amateur fighter.

In other bouts, Clinton Jackson of the U.S. outgunned Cuba's Luis Felipe; Correa of Cuba lost a very tough and contested 2-1 decision; and Jose Aguilar was stopped by Anthony Fletcher. □



Cuban boxer MILIAN(left) hung on after being knocked down to defeat GREG PAGE in bout during recent U.S./ Cuba meet in the Houston Astrodome.

U.S. Criticism "Utmost Hypocrisy"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

Daily World? What about the acquittal of the security police who murdered Steve Biko?

The detention of Mr. Qoboza and the banning of the *Daily World* are not true instances of press repression, Woudstra maintains since, "in South African terms this newspaper perpetrated the violence that started in Soweto. They instigated and perpetuated it. They identified points of unrest and started whipping it up further."

Woudstra accused Qoboza and others at the *Daily* and *Weekend World* of "attempting to run Soweto from the newspaper building" and of actively undermining government attempts "to bring peace and order back to Soweto."

"INFLAMMATORY"

Although Woudstra said he thought not all *Daily World* articles were "inflammatory," many, he felt, were "going a little bit too far." (See centerfold.)

Concerning the historic June 16, 1976, children's uprising in Soweto, Woudstra said, "We regard it as [resulting from] a small group of instigators who make use of certain reasonable problems they feel they have. We *feel they are a very small majority*.

"We feel it is instigated by students and certain radicals who have no real experience of reality...The largest majority of people in Soweto are moderates...They feel basically they have most of what they need, that they have a future, that they have good jobs and that they can better themselves."

Extending this same logic, the late Steve Biko was, in Woudstra's eyes, "a disrupter" who really had no political support. The vice-counsel is willing to go out on a limb — somewhat — however, commenting that although he sincerely believes the Biko inquest verdict of acquittal was not a cover-up, he believes the competence of the doctors who checked the 30-year-old activist just hours before he died should be examined.

Woudstra explained quite simply that since the "radicals" and "instigators" — like Biko and the children of Soweto and other "townships" — represented only a "small minority," the government had no qualms in ordering events such as the October 19 banning of 18 organizations, three newspapers, and the arrest of between 100 to 150 people. "There goes your problem," he stated, his arm hand cupped, sweeping across the desk.

There was much more to the interview. Woudstra staunchly defended *apartheid*, which he said, was defined as "separate development" or "plural democracy," which is presently characterized by the South African government policy of granting



Black woman in squalor of Black "township."

"independence" to tribal "homelands." And, although these "homelands," if combined would only come to 13 per cent of the country's land area, this is not unfair since, he explained, historically Blacks never settled along the coastal regions anyway.

South Africa is moving to "eliminate racial discrimination" within an overall policy of apartheid/separate development, he said, to cite a "necessary change" which must take place. This is understandable, Woudstra said calmly, since any move for an open society ruled by the principle of "one man, one vote" would lead to a tribal bloodbath.

And, how does he feel, personally, about the worldwide criticism South Africa has received?

"I feel defiant," Woudstra said. But against whom? "I feel defiant against the rest of the world," he responded. □

"We Declare A Holy War"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

"The present system divides us. See what happened in Soweto. There brother was turned against brother. This must not happen again. We must join hands as brothers against the common enemy — the whole apartheid system which degrades us all.

"We believe that there must be a united struggle of students, parents, teachers and all oppressed people against the system which makes all of us suffer. But we are against those who work the system. We reject all collaborators, all who have made themselves the tools of the system.

"So we reject all apartheid parties such as the Labor Party, the Federal Party, and Bantustan leaders. They do not speak for us. They are the false friends who must be exposed.

"Let us state now and for so long as the struggle lasts: These false friends will always run to their masters and ask for "all race" meetings, "multiracial" committees, meetings with the government. What for? To make a deal, keep us divided. Sell us down the river.

"This is not what we ask for. We have turned our backs to all talks between the rulers and the ruled....

"Reject all concessions that the racists grant us. Concessions are crumbs. We want freedom, not crumbs...

"The year 1976 has been an eventful year — oppression-wise. The death toll is well over a thousand and people are still dying. The refugee camps in neighboring countries are overflowing.

"Thousands of Blacks, especially students, are detained, awaiting trial and serving sentences ranging from banning to 10-15 years imprisonment. Parents, husbands, wives, sisters and brothers are in tears, distress and the insecurity of being Black during such trying times.

"We can never lead the same life again since June the 16th. We can never be as sure again of the value of life as we were before. We can never have a wedding when our next-door neighbor is having a mass funeral, when the widow next door lost her washing job while trying to locate the whereabouts of her son.

"Of course, true to our tradition, we shall never leave the widow to weep alone. We shall weep with the widow. We shall share sorrow and joy with the widow. There can never be a substantial achievement without sacrifice...."□

Mozambican Elections "Tremendous Education"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

mande had stolen his mother's bananas and how, when she complained, he had beaten her and forced her to submit to his sexual advances.

As the story unfolded it began to look as though Ndimande had realized he had been found out and for that reason had stayed away. All to no avail, however, because someone was sent to his house to fetch him. When he appeared all he had to say for himself was, well, it was a very long time ago and let's let bygones be bygones.

But the villagers stuck by their decision and were firmly supported by the FRELIMO representatives on the platform.

"There's no place for exploiters in our assemblies," said the young man from the provincial Party headquarters in Xai-Xai. "The days when exploiters ran our lives are over."

Having dispatched Ndimande, the electors resumed their scrutiny of the other candidates, the men and women who, if elected, will direct the affairs of the village and the surrounding areas for the next two and a half years. Most were peasants but there were also some workers, mostly from a nearby cashew-processing factory.

Almost half the candidates were women.



Mozambican villagers.

While the residents of Marien Ngouabi were electing their deputies, a few miles down the dirt road the Patrice Lumumba communal village was doing the same.

The election at Patrice Lumumba — another new village — was attended by some of the leaders of FRELIMO, including Mariano Matsinha, a member of the Standing Political Committee of the Party and Minister of Labor.

Before the voting began, Matsinha explained to the people what these elections were all about. The Assembly, he said, was an organization of power.

"We need organization of power so that it really is power. We need to discuss our problems to be able to solve them. We can only fight hunger, disease and ignorance if we are united and organized. Assemblies are the organs in which we combine our strengths to study and solve our own problems," he said.

Above all, the elections have been the occasion for celebrations up and down the country. And in the words of Joaquim Chissano, foreign minister and a member of FRELIMO's Standing Political Committee.

"This celebration is bigger than that of independence itself, because it enshrines the highest aspiration for which our people struggle — the exercise of power by the people themselves." □

Blue Cross Strike

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

motorcycle cops quickly arrived.

One demonstrator, Joan Braconi of Service Employee International, Local 535, was bloodied from a head cut she received when she tried to stop police from clubbing a picket who was being arrested.

One strike supporter, Charles Tobias, saw a group of officers viciously beating one man.

"Two of the cops held his arm and then others went over and started beating on him," Tobias said.

"They're pretty clever," he went on, "they formed a crowd around him and all of a sudden all you could see was clubs coming down on him."

Alameda County labor leader Richard Groulx and nine other Blue Cross supporters from several different unions were arrested in the scuffle between union demonstrators and club-swinging cops.

Groulx charged that Blue Cross refuses to adopt an equitable and fair seniority system, choosing to rely on a merit system which is tinged with favoritism. "This of course benefits those management people who did not strike," said Groulx.

Pickets are still in front of the Blue Cross headquarters and the management has kept private security guards and detectives there also to continue their harassment of the striking women.

Oakland police are constantly surveying the actions of the strikers seeking to provoke another incident at the slightest pretext. Talks have been broken off for the past two weeks as management has steadfastedly refused to negotiate in good faith.

Many of the striking women will be extremely hard-pressed to provide a decent Christmas for their children so OPEU Local 29 has scheduled a children's Christmas party for Tuesday, December 22, at a location to be announced. Supporters are urged to contribute to this effort by making a donation of toys for children of all ages, a financial contribution or anything to insure that the children of strikers will receive at least one toy for Christmas.

Most of these women are the heads of households and have been receiving no more than $50.00 a week since October 5 of this year. For more information, please contact, OPEU, Local 29, 1475 Powell Street, Emeryville, California 94662, (415) 653-9614.

Letters to the Editor

BURUJ SEEKS CHANGE

Dear Friends:

On behalf of "Buruj" Interdominational Incarcerated People's Org zation of North America, I greet you in peace and continued success in your efforts to uplift and restore mankind to a harmonious and productive state.

We at "Buruj" are engaged in that same struggle, on another front. The penal system in this country in general and for the moment, Georgia in particular.

In this day and time penal institutions are no longer a useful tool for correcting criminal behavior, because they are economically governed and the whole concept behind economy is make much and spend little. This in itself is restrictive and it limits the money available for rehabilitation to security and personnel. As a result we, the inmates, find ourselves in a system designed to defeat it's own purpose. This situation not only creates anxieties and unrest, it also fails to equip an incarcerated person with any useful skills or trades with which to sustain him/or herself upon returning to society at large.

We at "Buruj" seek not to eliminate the penal system, but we are trying to make constructive changes. We would like to see effective programs, equal treatment for all inmates and more community involvement. Many of us will return one day and who knows, we may be your next door neighbor, your son, daughter and brother or sister's fiance...

We need your help and support and many donations and/or other considerations to this worthy cause will be greatly appreciated.

Please send all monetary donations to:

Chairman: Abdul Shaeed Hameed
(John D. Dennard)
Box #70823 E-2
Reidsville, Georgia 30453

INDIANA INMATES BLAST NEW WARDEN

In November of this year (1977), the convicts and inmates at the Indiana State Reformatory were unfortunate to experience the oncoming of a new Superintendent. From the day of Mr. Raines' (the superintendent) arrival, tension could be felt throughout the entire inmate population and to this day, is to be felt even stronger!

For the past few years, the situations and problems that have existed here at the reformatory have been no "party" by far. But with this new "straw boss" in complete control of the driver's seat, the situation is rapidly changing for the worst and tension among the prisoners is at an all time high. Mr. Raines was transferred and put in his position here at the Reformatory after being under an investigation in the Kansas correctional system in which he was forced to resign rather than be fired. That goes to prove further that the state of Indiana has a thing for rejects.

Mr. Raines actions as well as his intentions here at the reformatory can be classified as nothing short of "preposterous" and totally "ridiculous." It seems that in the few weeks of Mr. Raines' takeover, his intentions are so designed as to apply such force upon the inmate population that the reformatory is on the verge of becoming a total "Blood Bath." This man has applied pressure upon us in every sense of the word in just a matter of a few weeks. And unless something is done immediately about this man's intentions a "Blood Bath" could be very likely in the making!

Mr. Raines' intentions are quite evident, he's applying pressure to the inmate population at such force that the prisoners are becoming confused as well as "fed up" and will eventually rebel to all commands and/or orders handed down from the administration. It should be well remembered that in September 1969 forty-six (46) inmates were shot (2 were killed) while involved in a so-called peaceful (sit-down) demonstration on the prison's recreation yard. The inmates were "locked in" on the yard as well as sitting down, thus once again exposing the constant brutality of prison administrations. The courts said that justice had been served then too!!

But will 1978 become 1969 all over again?? It's very likely that it will, if not sooner and the lives that could be lost may very well be over the two that were lost in the 1969 rebellion! But who really cares, or is concerned with what happens in the year of 1978 here at the Indiana Reformatory?? Only those who rebel!?

Greg Resnover #4168
Indiana Reformatory

Cuba's Role In Angola

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

he was distressed over a report released on November 18 by President Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski. The report contended that there are 27,000 Cubans in 16 African nations, 23,000 of whom are in Angola — figures Fidel charged were grossly exaggerated.

"Why did Brzezinski magnify the problem?" the Cuban premier complained to the reporters. "Why does he want to create a problem artificially? It has nothing to do with Carter: it has nothing to do with the United States."

Refusing to disclose the exact number of Cuban troops in Africa, Fidel explained that after the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) defeated Western-backed reactionaries attempting to overthrow the MPLA in 1976, Cuba reduced its troops by 60 per cent.

"But the Angolan government didn't feel terribly safe after that," he continued. Following the Front for the Liberation of the Congo's (FLC's) invasion of Shaba Province in neighboring Zaire earlier this year, Fidel said that he complied with a request by the MPLA to reinforce the Cuban contingent.

Noting that Cuban ties with Africa stem from the economic aid given by socialist and progressive African nations to Cuba after a full U.S trade embargo was imposed against the Caribbean nation in 1962, Fidel said:

"They (African nations) are our friends. They asked for our help, and we came...Our mission is to defend them against any foreign aggression."

Challenging the Carter administration's arrogant position on Cuban troops in Africa, Fidel said in an interview broadcast on Canadian television:

"The United States does not have anything to show us," Fidel went on. "We have no prostitution, no gambling, no racial discrimination. The cultural level and the health level of our people are the highest of all Latin America.

"I think in the field of human rights, actually we are better off than the United States," he concluded.

Asked for a time estimate on normalization of relations between the U.S. and Cuba, Fidel said, "It possibly would require a second period of the Carter administration. It could be from maybe three to five years, to be objective."

More F.B.I. Anti-B.P.P. Tactics

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

stating that the Party members there were suspicious of the man because Omaha police had arrested and quickly released him earlier in the year.

In a stark contrast, a year later, the San Francisco FBI questioned a suggestion from the FBI's New Haven office that two other Panthers be branded FBI informants.

"San Francisco interposed an objection to this particular type of counterintelligence unless we are ready to assume responsibility...for the Party members we 'set-up' as FBI informants," the San Francisco office told Washington in December of 1969.

Washington's decision in the matter is not contained in the files that were released.

Another suggestion rejected by the San Francisco office grew out of statements by BPP Founder and President Huey P. Newton in August, 1970, that the Party should support the gay liberation movement.

The San Francisco office wrote phony letters to David Hilliard, condemning the remarks, and this was followed by a suggestion from the Detroit FBI office that the FBI try to start a rumor that Huey was a homosexual.

San Francisco rejected the idea as implausible, noting that since release from jail, the BPP leader "has apparently enjoyed female liaison in Oakland and in Philadelphia."

B.P.P. LITERATURE

Records show the FBI on more than one occasion reproduced BPP literature and publications.

The FBI went a step further and produced fake Party literature bearing caricatures showing Black males labeled "BPP" being sexually intimate with White females. The material was meant to be distributed to White members attending a United Front Against Fascism conference in Oakland in the summer of 1969, but Washington felt the literature wouldn't sufficiently disrupt the conference and the idea was rejected.



BPP President HUEY P. NEWTON with attorney SHELDON OTIS.

Early in 1970, records show, the local FBI office got the FBI laboratory in Washington to produce copies of BPP stationery and used it to "expel" 60 Party members in three cities.

Identities of those who received letters are deleted from the records, but the letters read in part:

"Actions such as yours could only come from the pig establishment. You are nothing but a jiving...agent provocateur. You no longer deserve to be a Black Panther. The Central Committee has expelled you."

Grassroots Farmers' Strike Begins

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

USDA researcher Kenneth Farrell stated recently that U.S. *farmers will receive little benefit* from an expected 6 per cent rise in consumer food prices in 1978.

Rather, it is the "middlemen" — the large monopolies — who will once again rip off U.S. workers at the supermarket in 1978.

Family farmers have expressed outrage at the USDA's response to their financial squeeze and say that expected government subsidies will do little to stave off an estimated 100,000 bankruptcies this year.

Last October, Congress approved the 1977 Farm Act which authorizes USDA to pay farmers $1.5 billion in subsidies during November and December to make up for low wheatgrain prices.

Instead of subsidies, the family farmers have called on the government to establish fixed floors on the amount the monopolies must pay to purchase the farmers' produce — they label the demand "100 per cent parity." The parity formula, established by Congress during the Depression and scrapped during the 1960's, provided the farmers a "fair return" on their crops in relation to production costs.

American Agriculture Movement statistics indicate that U.S. farmers currently make only about 64 per cent parity on their total agricultural output.

Meanwhile, Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, said last week that Blacks must *organize to stop continued loss of*



Black farmers are in a constant battle to retain their property.

their farmland or stand ready to become a landless people.

Blacks obtained about 15 million acres of land in the South in the years following the Civil War but lost much of it during the past 60 years because of the avarice of Whites, Hooks said.

"Today, they (Blacks) own less than six million acres, according to federal statistics," Hooks said. "Should this trend continue, Black Americans could become a landless people inside the United States in about two generations."

Hooks discussed the issue of land ownership by Blacks in connection with "Project Rural," a project of the NAACP and other groups in Mississippi, Tennessee and Alabama.

"It is vital to the total Black community to stop this erosion of a basic economic resource," he said, adding that at a conservative valuation of $400 per acre, the 15 million acres could have meant $6 billion to the Black community.

Blacks began losing farmland when they began migrating from rural areas to urban centers in the South in the early 1900's, Hooks said.

He said many poor, uneducated Black farmers gave up their land because they could not compete with mechanized agribusiness.

"Their lack of knowledge, their fears and the racial prejudices of others kept many Black farmers from taking part in government programs created especially to help the small farmers," he said.

Others lost farmland to loan sharks, large farmers and tax collectors, he said.

"There are many thousands of Black Americans in Northern cities who own Southern land but are unaware of their obligations to pay taxes or the increasing value of their properties," Hooks said.

Coal Miners Strike

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

The companies are willing to take a two-month walkout, according to Price, in hopes of winning a high-productivity contract that would make the long-talked-about massive expansion of the coal industry superprofitable. The Carter administration has called for doubling coal production by 1985 to reduce dependence on imported oil.

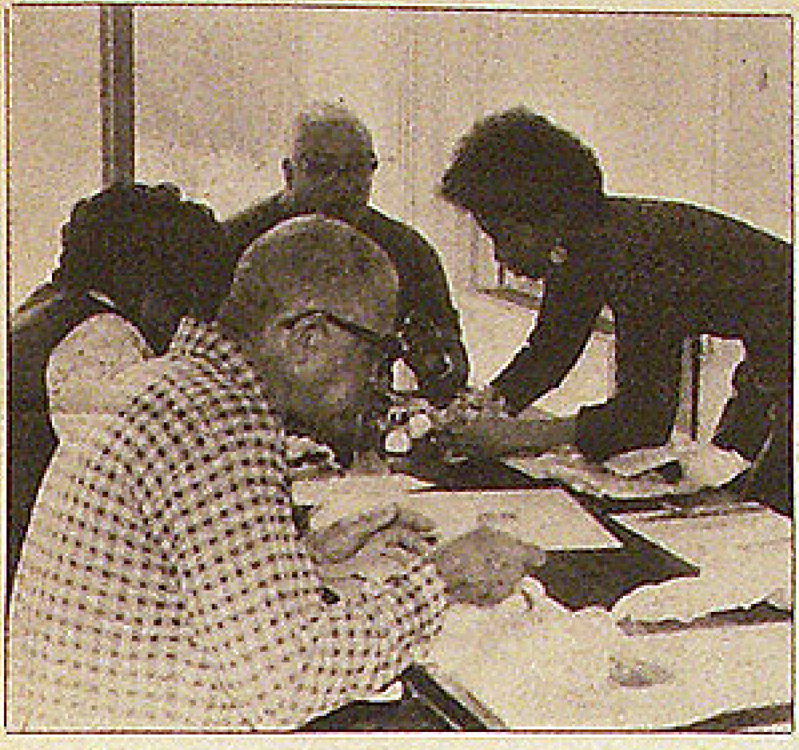
The companies seek two main concessions to guarantee increased production: suppression of wildcat strikes and sanctions against absenteeism. They also want to strip away the power of union mine safety committees, continue the current grievance procedure (which is weighted in their favor), and punish workers for unexcused absences.

In addition, they hope the new contract will still peg the union health and retirement fund to production, with benefits at a lower level. The fund's benefits have historically been one of the prime features drawing non-union miners to the UMW, since non-union mines generally have parity wages but paltry benefits.

UMW President Arnold Miller is known to believe that the union doesn't have the capacity to fight the companies. He is also in favor of any measures that would suppress the wildcats, which have been directed as much against him as the companies.

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

"All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution." — Huey P. Newton



SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.) PROGRAM

GEORGE JACKSON MEDICAL CLINIC

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

SHOE PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)
Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.



S.A.F.E. PROGRAM

PEOPLE'S FREE LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.) PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

FREE PEST CONTROL

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Oakland Community School.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental facilities at the earliest ages.



OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

BPINS photos

SAN FRANCISCO F.B.I. TURNED FANATIC IN LATE 60's

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

continue to freely advertise the plans for demonstrations and disruptions so that a maximum number of dissidents and revolutionaries are informed and can travel long distances to participate."

A memo sent from the San Francisco FBI to Washington headquarters in June of 1968, which was initialed by Bates, set forth a variety of measures by which a counterattack could be carried to the Left.

It suggested that Hoover urge the attorney general of the United States to order prompt indictment and prosecution of all leftists known to have violated the nation's Selective Service laws.

"At the present time, San Francisco has submitted reports on 86 Selective Service violations where indictments have been returned but none have been prosecuted," the document said. It said there were another 140 cases pending in which indictments had not even been sought.

The San Francisco office recommended that the FBI drop its rule forbidding the hiring of informants with criminal records when it came to the infiltration of radical groups.

"If the objective is disruption, it would not be necessary for informant to have a clean background. It would not necessarily be held against them or the Bureau if they have been convicted of morals charges or of using narcotics.

"The so-called hippies that exist in this area who are involved in demonstrations are reportedly deeply involved in drugs and are completely amoral," the memo remarked. It also urged that the payment ceiling for informants be raised from $200 to $400 a month.

INFORMANTS

But while urging Hoover to take it easy when it came to its informants, the San Francisco office recommended that local police be encouraged to bear down heavily on leftists. It said they should be cited for minor violations of the law like defective automobile equipment or improper license plates.

A memo initialed by Bates urged Hoover in February of 1969 to force the State Department to keep the head of the Students for a Democratic Society, who was a German citizen, out of the country. He was not named in the memo.

"Perhaps some political considerations are not understood by the San Francisco office," it said, "but such a simple matter as refusing these people entry should not be difficult.

"In the past, previous administrations did not seem inclined to take the firm stand suggested. Now that we have a new administration," the memo said, referring to the Nixon administration, "which appears to have a different outlook, they might be more receptive."

Reader's Contest



CAPTION THIS CARTOON • CAPTION THIS CARTOON

- 1st Prize — $20
- 2nd Prize — Free Year Subscription to THE BLACK PANTHER
- 3rd Prize — Free 6 month Subscription

The San Francisco office complained that the militant left appeared to be getting a favorable press and speculated that this was because younger reporters were being assigned to cover demonstrations.

It suggested that Hoover find some way of letting editors and news directors know how "their facilities are being used to the detriment of the United States" and encourage them to "devote more supervisorial attention to news dispatches on the New Left."

Justice Department Lawyers Quit F.B.I. Probe—Demand More Indictments

(Washington, D.C.) - Five Justice Department lawyers conducting an investigation of illegal FBI activities asked to be removed from the case last week in a bitter dispute with Attorney General Griffin Bell over issuing new indictments in the two-year-old probe.

The attorneys, members of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, had given Bell an ultimatum to either indict additional FBI officials, to take other sanctions against the federal police bureau or to relieve them (the lawyers) of all responsibility in the case, reports the *Los Angeles Times*.

Although Bell claimed the incident was a simple "disagreement" among lawyers over legal strategy, sources insist that the issue had been heating up for some time and that the attorneys had argued their case at a very heated meeting with the attorney general.

According to sources close to the five lawyers, the conflict involved "the entire conduct of the investigation as a whole. If the task force felt that the attorney general's conduct was reasonable, it would have continued the case."

UNREASONABLE

The *New York Times* reported that the lawyers felt it was unreasonable to prosecute one low-level FBI official for illegal practices that had been widespread and approved up through the Bureau's chain of command.

One agent, John Kearney, head of a fugitive hunting squad in the New York area, has been indicted for using illegal tactics against innocent citizens in an attempt to capture members of the Weather Underground in the early 1970's. The investigation has revealed that Kearney — under orders from his superiors — used illegal burglaries, wiretaps and mail-openings in a futile attempt to capture members of the underground radical movement.

However, the five-attorney task force called for further indictments against:

- •Wallace La Prade, as assistant FBI director who now heads the huge New York field office;
- •Andrew Decker, an assistant FBI director;
- •James Ingram, an assistant FBI director; and
- •Two "special agents-in-charge" of intelligence operations in the New York area, Arbor Gray and John Morley.

Bell claimed that his strategy was to take the Kearney case to trial, continue the investigation, and if the Kearney prosecution was successful, bring additional indictments. But sources close to the investigation say that Bell has grown cautious about indicting any other agents due to the "outcry from friends of the Bureau."

Despite Bell's insistence that an active investigation is taking place, others in the Justice Department have said that there was almost no activity on the case since Bell and the prosecutors were frozen in their dispute.

In another matter, Bell said that the Justice Department is considering a civil suit against Frank Snepp, a former CIA analyst in Vietnam who recently published a book on the collapse of Saigon in April, 1975.

While not seeking to press for the indictments in the FBI probe, Bell has indicated his desire to bring charges against the former CIA agent for violating an oath made to the agency.